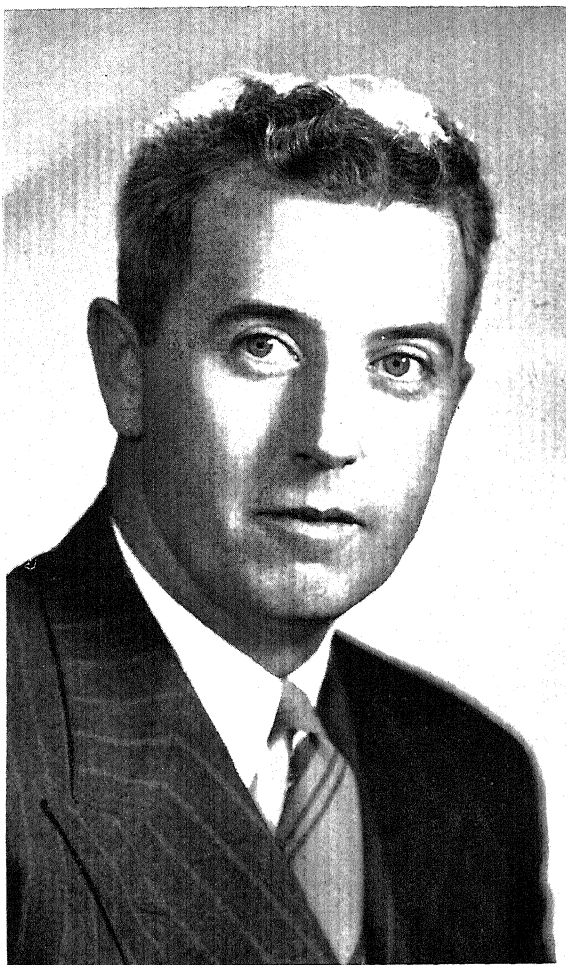


PROCEEDINGS
AMERICAN PRISON ASSOCIATION
1949



JOHN C. BURKE

Warden, Wisconsin State Prison

Waupun

and

President, The American Prison Association

1949

PROCEEDINGS

OF THE

Seventy-Ninth Annual Congress
of Correction

OF THE

American Prison Association

MILWAUKEE, WISCONSIN

September 25th to 30th

1949

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The American Prison Association publishes annual proceedings of its Congress. Price of book, three dollars. Special rates for back numbers. The Association's official publication, *The Prison World*, is published bimonthly and is included in all memberships.

There are several classes of membership, as follows:

1. *Associate Membership*, \$2.00
2. *Full Membership*, \$5.00
3. *Ten Dollar Membership*
4. *Service or Agency Membership*, \$25.00
5. *Life Membership*, \$100.00

PREFACE

THE State of Wisconsin and the City of Milwaukee showed unusual interest and co-operation in the holding of our 79th Annual Congress of Correction. The warmth of our welcome and the eagerness to serve displayed on the part of all those who had local responsibilities gave some of us the feeling that our departed good friend, and valiant leader in The American Prison Association in his day, the late Colonel John J. Hannan, was still at the helm and encouraging his successors to serve in the wholehearted and friendly manner so characteristic of him.

There were nearly nine hundred delegates from forty States and in addition there were representatives from Finland, Sweden, Norway, Denmark, France, Australia, Belgium, Canada, Puerto Rico and Hawaii. The Congress met with wide acclaim for its excellent program and the feeling of accord and geniality on the part of those coming from the four corners of the United States. The democratic spirit of our meetings was particularly impressive to the delegates from foreign countries.

The pages that follow do not present all of the valuable contributions and discussion during the days of our meetings. It is regrettable, of course, that we are not in a position to fully record within the covers of this book all that was so cheerfully and helpfully given by the many participants. The omissions are not intended to show lack of appreciation or underestimation, but are necessitated solely because of the need to arrange our expenditures in keeping with our ability to pay. As a matter of fact, the cost of printing the Annual Proceedings is a growing challenge to the resources of the Association and it is a problem that will require early solution.

In addition to the expression of appreciation given at the annual business meeting the undersigned desires on behalf of the central office of the Association to extend thanks and appreciation to all those who gave cheerfully throughout the year and during the days of the Congress of their time and interest so that we could keep faith with the founders.

E. R. CASS

General Secretary

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SURE YOU DO!
PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS

John C. Burke

THERE has been, and still is, a great impediment to the forward movement in penal affairs; and that is: public indifference, misconception and misinformation.

Too many writers, with only the sketchiest knowledge of prison life, set themselves up as experts on all affairs penological. Like Mark Twain's man, they know a great deal but, unfortunately, what they know is not so.

Some of them would have us believe that a prison's sole and avowed purpose is punishment. The social offender, according to them, can be cured through suffering; and prisons should be designed to administer it. Discipline should be harsh, and the inmates fed and kennelled like dogs.

Is it any wonder then that, when many people hear of 1949 prisons, with stern but fair discipline, educational programs, recreation, spiritual and moral guidance, trade training, and fine medical and psychiatric treatment; all coordinated into a forward, individualized program under the institution's guidance committee and a sensible, humane warden with a fine staff under him; they scream, "Prisons are becoming playhouses—the place is a country club!"

To such people is this 79th presidential address pointed.

* * *

John, you and your good wife, Mary, know quite a lot about prisons, don't you? Sure, you both read about prisons in the papers, in the magazines, and in books; then too, you have seen the "lugs" in the "big house," and also you hear about prisons on this and that program over the radio.

Then too, John, I believe you and Mary went through the prison the time your club held its annual meeting at Fond du Lac and you all went over to the prison to see the animals. Yes, I knew you had! You saw the ball diamond, the busy shops, the men talking in the dining room, everything just as you knew it was going to be.

But there is another prison, John, that I would like you to see and know. No, not an imaginary prison, nor a prison in another state. This is the same prison you went through, seen from a slightly different angle than the one you had when you went through here before.

No, Mary, you can't come along. But don't worry, you will have a chance to learn a lot more about prisons than you know now—I hope.

Let us, you and I, John, take a walk down into one of the cell halls.

Here we are, John. See how nicely the cells are arranged, 25 of them in a row and four rows stacked one on the other.

Notice how the fronts of the cells are barred. One half of the cell front is covered by a sliding, barred door. Take a good look at that door, John, because doors like that play a big part in the prison I am going to show you. Just step inside—that's it; and now I will pull the door shut and lock it, and then lock another lock, and then another. Yes sir, John, you are securely locked up! Just sit down and look around for a while.

Notice your cell, John. Take a good look at it, because it is going to be your home for the next ten years. Sure! You have just gotten a ten-year "jolt," John; so settle down and be a good prisoner.

Mary?

Oh, now don't you worry about her. She will be all right, and she will be waiting for you when you get out—I hope. And she will come up to see you once every month—if she *can* come up.

Notice, John, that your cell isn't a bit like it seemed that day you went through the prison. It's somewhat smaller than you thought? Yes, they do seem smaller from the inside, don't they? Probably an optical illusion. Notice, when you lie on your bed you can touch both of the side walls without any stretching. That makes it handy when you want to swat flies and mosquitoes. Yes, that cell is 60 inches wide and 90 inches long. But you will get used to it in time—maybe. One thing is sure, the cell's narrowness will not bother you much—or it will crush you.

Notice that you can see out through the cell hall windows. True, you can't see much; just the front of the dining room and a patch of sky—a tiny, triangular patch of sky; but don't scorn that little patch of sky, John. Before you finish up your ten years in here, that little bit of sky will mean a lot to you.

But let us get started on your ten-year journey, John. It isn't so bad. You may get a parole in two or three years, if you keep your record clear. Sure, the Judge said so, didn't he? In any event, with good time granted you will get out on a discharge in about six years and three months. That's not long—or is it? See that man out there on the cot in front of your cell? He's been here seventeen years and society says that the pound of weary flesh it has taken from him is not big enough. No, he is a trusty now, has been for six years or so. He works outside a great deal of the time and is one of the best carpenters in the prison.

You ask what are your chances of getting a parole after two years. Frankly, they are rather slim. About half of the men never get a parole at all. Those who do, often serve at least half of their time and many all but a few months, before they are granted parole. Who can tell; you

might be lucky, though. Better figure on doing five years, John, and you won't be disappointed.

Now it is time for you to go to bed; ten o'clock and the lights are being turned off. You're not sleepy, you say? Well, that is all right, because you don't have to go to sleep, you merely have to go to bed. You can lie awake all night if you wish, only stay in bed and keep quiet. No, you can't have a light to read by; but you can lie flat on your back and wonder what Mary is doing, and so on—and so on. That may be a comforting thing to think about—and it may not. However, just to cheer you up, the odds are at least fifty-fifty that you will not have your Mary at the end of your "jolt." Sure, I know Mary is different. Every Mary is different; but six years and three months is a whale of a long time for a woman to wait alone. Isn't it, Mary? Yes, it is at that.

No, John, don't jump out of your skin. That is just the morning gong and that means it is time for you to get up. Sure you slept. You feel like you'd been up all night? Yes, you will feel that way lots of nights. But come on, get up. It's ten minutes of six and in just forty-five minutes you have to have your bed made, get washed, have your cell swept out, and be ready to leave when the gong rings for breakfast line. Why do we get up so early? Why not; you can't sleep anyway. And then, one must get up early to harvest the crop of wild oats one planted. Yes, that's an old stir joke.

There goes the gong; and now follow and you will learn something. You will learn one of the first lessons about doing time. You will learn about the endless marching to nowhere; the ceaseless marching to the dining room, to work, to the cell hall—always over the same route. You will march many a weary mile, John, before you march out the front gate.

We won't worry about what you work at; we will be glad if there is work for you to do. Industry and labor take a rather dim view on work for prisoners.

But here you are, John, back in your cell. You have served your first day at work.

Stand up to the door until you are counted. Yes, it does make you feel sort of funny, the way you are counted and re-counted. That is doing time, John.

And now, John, you get a break. Mary is coming up to see you! You will have the pleasure of seeing her across a wide table, that is at least four feet wide; then there is a nice, heavy, half-inch screen for you and her to peer through. No, John, you can't kiss her nor touch her. You might tell her all that is in your heart—but you won't. You won't because there are other men having visits and they are sitting right along-

side you, and you wouldn't want them to hear all the things you would like to say. But you *do* get to see her.

You get to see her brave little smile and you get to hear all the brave, pitiful little things she has saved up to tell you—and they will cheer you no end—or will they? Anyway, you got to see her; and that will give you something to think about tonight. Yes, indeed, John; her visit will give you something to think about tonight.

But this is a modern prison, John. You know, you have read in the papers how the prisoners are all pampered these days. Sure! In your cell there is a toilet just back of the head of your bed, your bed which hangs from the wall. No old-fashioned cell bucket here. And there is the wash bowl with two kinds of water—running and cold. Yes, that's another of the old stir jokes.

And then there is the radio, John. That is fine. Might as well put the earphones on and get a load of what is coming in. A little bit early yet. There is a kid program just signing off. Funny how that kid's voice brings a lump to your throat, isn't it? Sounds just like your little Johnny's voice. Well, lumps in your throat—that's all part of the game. You're lucky that you don't get lumps on your head like they handed out in all prisons not so many years back.

Yes, it is kind of tough, but you'll get hardened up as time goes on. If you don't get so that the sound of children's voices leaves you sort of cold; if you don't get so that Mary's visits don't upset you (if she is still visiting you); you're going to have a tough time of it. In fact, if you don't raise a good, tough callous over your finer feelings, you might wind up hanging onto the bars and screaming at the wall.

It isn't so bad now that you have been here two years, is it. The world you used to know is beginning to fade, and the world of prison is beginning to seem sort of natural. At this point, if you hear a sort of "Heh-heh," don't be alarmed. It's just the devil laughing at you.

Sure, you get used to anything. Notice how easy it is to lie on your bunk and dream the hours away. Sure, a regular country club, John, only it won't fit you for the country club life outside. Folks are apt to look at you a bit oddly outside and wonder if you have all your marbles.

Well, here you are, John. Six years and three months have rolled around and you take the last march in prison—the march out the front gate.

Remember, John, that time you went through here as a visitor. It took only an hour to march in and then march out again. But it took you six years and three months this time, didn't it? Funny how different

the prison you saw on the second march looked from the one you saw as a citizen touring through the place.

As a visitor you saw the ball diamond, the busy shops, the men talking in the dining room, just as you knew it was going to be.

But when you started to live here it was so different. You saw heart-break—your heartbreak. You saw a man working away at meaningless labor for six years and three months—you. You saw a man talking in the visiting room, saying empty nothings because he dared not say anything but empty nothings for fear his voice would make a monkey of him—your voice. You heard a lovely voice over the radio, a voice on the “Hour of Charm,” singing, “Sweet Hour of Prayer”—and you didn’t feel so good because that was your mother’s favorite song before she died last year. Your mother,— and *you were here*.

It is nice to think, John, that you have paid your debt to society.

Of course you haven’t seen much of prisons in your short stay, John. You really must look at prison through a lifetime glass before you can really see it. You don’t get the really exquisite flavor, John, in a small dose.

But anyway, John, you and your good wife, Mary, know quite a bit about prisons, don’t you now?

Sure you do!

I would like to go on now and tell you more about the constructive side of a prison program that attempts to counteract the punishment side I tried to give you a picture of. I’d like to picture a modern prison’s recreational setup; I’d like to tell you of the place of chaplains in the spiritual and moral program; I’d like to tell you of medical and psychiatric help; and I’d like to take you through a modern prison with its trade training program.

Time won’t permit me to go into all that, John; but follow me a little longer and I’ll tell you what correctional people assembled here are thinking about in the field of prison schools.

We are not greatly concerned as to whether or not the man in school learns to speak fluent English, to handle figures like an engineer, or to understand the world’s geography. We are not much concerned about that, because we know men can be honest, men can be tolerant, men can be good citizens, without that knowledge. We know that some of our own fathers finished but the fourth or fifth grade in school; but we know also that they were honest to the core, that they were charitable to a neighbor in distress, that they were unselfish, that they respected womanhood, and that they appreciated the dignity of labor. We know that thousands of people, in the City of Milwaukee and in the com-

munities from which you and we come, have as little academic education as the prisoners we supervise. We know that there are employes in our prisons that do not have as much education as some of the prisoners they supervise. We know that some of these men do not earn as much money as some of the prisoners we supervise earned before they came to prison. But we do know that there is a difference between the splendid, honorable, honest, hard-working guard or other prison employe and the man in prison. The difference is there, and the difference is not just in the educational attainment.

We are greatly concerned, however, as to whether or not the man in school gets the kind of education that teaches him a lot of other things. We want the curriculum of our prison schools to include something that teaches right from wrong, and that develops in our prisoners a good set of ethics and the proper attitudes. We want to see classrooms and teachers who teach our men to be decent, kind, gentle, humble, modest, and clean inside and out. We want to see a little educating of the soul as well as of the mind. We don't want an education that produces just a machinist, we want one that produces an honest machinist.

We agree thoroughly with John Ruskin, when he said:

"Education does not mean teaching people what they do not know. It means teaching them to behave as they do not behave. It is not teaching the youth the shapes of the letters and the tricks of numbers, and then leaving them to turn their arithmetic to roguery, and their literature to lust. It means, on the contrary, training them into the perfect exercise and kingly continence of their bodies and souls. It is a painful, continual, and difficult work to be done by kindness, by watching, by warning, by precept, and by praise; but above all, by example."

Our notions on education, whether it be inside a prison or outside a prison, are also well stated in a poem on education by Arthur Guiterman. That poem is as follows:

"Mark Hopkins sat on one end of a log
And a farm boy sat on the other.
Mark Hopkins came as a pedagogue
And taught as an elder brother.
"I don't care what Mark Hopkins taught,
If his Latin was small and his Greek was naught
For the farmer boy he thought, thought he,
All through lecture time and quiz,
'The kind of a man I want to be
Is the kind of man Mark Hopkins is.'

"Theology, languages, medicine, law,
Are peacock feathers to deck a daw,
If the boys who come from your splendid schools
Are well-trained sharpers or flippant fools.

"You may boast of your age and your ivied walls,
Your great endowments, your marble halls,
And all your modern features—
Your vast curriculum's scope and reach,
The multifarious things you teach—
But what about your teachers?

"Are they men who can stand in a father's place,
Who are paid, best paid, by the ardent face
When boyhood gives, as boyhood can,
Its love and faith to a fine true man?

"No printed word nor spoken plea
Can teach young hearts what men should be,
Not all the books on all the shelves,
But what the teachers are themselves.
For Education is making men,
So it is now, so it was when
Mark Hopkins sat on one end of a log
And James Fairfield sat on the other."

We charge also, therefore, that if our prison schools, or outside schools, are to be successful, and if they are to impart to our men proper ideals on life, rather than just a collection of facts and figures, then those schools in their operation and their policies must teach spiritual and moral guidance.

In 1896 President Hyde of Bowdoin College said:

"The . . . school must do more than it has been doing if it is to be a real conductor of youth and an effective supporter of the State. It puts the key of knowledge in the child's hand, but fails to open the treasure of wisdom to his heart and mind. Of what use is it to teach a child how to read if he cares to read nothing but the sensational accounts of crime? These people who know how to read and write and cipher and know little else—these are the people who furnish fuel for . . . fanaticism—who substitute theosophy for religion, passion for morality, impulse for reason, crazes and caprice for conscience and the Constitution."

In 1896 Fred Woodrow, in *The Age of Steel*, said:

"A boy may be kept at school for several years . . . but if his heart is not educated with his head, his conscience with his memory, a knowledge of the date of the battle of Bunker Hill and the number of gallons of water in Lake Michigan are no guarantee that he will not use his acquired knowledge in putting the finishing touches to as consummate a scoundrel as ever entered a prison cell. So far as education goes, there are rascals who understand geometry, and can give you the distance of the sun, moon and stars as easily as a railway conductor can punch a mileage book."

I believe it was Edwin Fuller, in his book, *Your Boy and His Training*, who said:

"Sheer intellectual power resulting from the systematic acquisition of knowledge and training of the mind produces a one-sided individual who lacks the restraints and guidance imposed by moral and ethical concepts. He is like an ocean liner of tremendous speed and power but without chart, compass or rudder."

In the old order of things, prison schools and educational systems were merely tolerated. Today they are, and must be, insisted upon. No prison and no reformatory can claim to offer protection to the public unless it conducts within its walls a strong and practical educational system for the rebuilding of men.

That's all I have time to tell you about prisons today, John.

I hope you can stay around the rest of the week, because we have present here fully qualified and talented workers from all branches of the field of corrections who are going to be discussing these problems from now until Friday noon.

They are as serious a group of men and women as you will find anywhere. They are not sadists who like to see prisoners fed and kennelled like dogs and they are not silly, sentimental theorists.

They are prison wardens, reformatory and juvenile school superintendents; they are educators, recreation leaders, psychologists, psychiatrists, physicians, chaplains, industrial specialists, practical college professors, probation and parole officers, guidance people, active members of boards and commissions in this field, and a lot of fine, interested public-spirited citizens who are truly interested in the individual prison.

Not a one of them will give up trying or be content until the day we have no recidivists.

John, you know quite a bit about prisons, don't you?

Sure you do!

THE PSYCHIATRIC ASPECT

Theme: Areas of Agreement and Disagreement Between
Wardens and Psychiatrists

I. THE PENITENTIARY WARDEN

Garrett Heyns

IN order to be certain that what I am about to say would constitute a consensus of my colleagues, I spent a few moments interviewing some of them. I did not get too much assistance. The general reaction was that I had gotten myself into a jam and was perfectly able to pull myself out of it. Nevertheless, I am not laying that flattering unction to my soul because I suspect that the remark was made merely because they were not in the mood to work at the moment.

The topic has been announced. I presume it could be paraphrased into the vernacular and made to read "tearing into the long hairs."

First as to the common ground. Without doubt, wardens will agree that psychiatrists know more than they do of mental disease and problems of adjustment; further, that psychiatrists are authorities on diagnosis and treatment and that members of this profession play a vital part in the institutional purpose of helping the inmate.

Now as to the areas of disagreement. I am going to touch briefly on some of these. Let it be said in advance, however, that there are no such areas which understanding and common sense cannot readily remove.

First, we wardens would like our professional friends better if they were not so infernally erudite, and perhaps even with a bit of the air of superiority. Their motto, apparently, is "No doubt we are the people and wisdom will die with us."

Recently I attended a meeting at which several psychiatrists read papers. One of them undertook to tell us, in language vague and inconclusive, why a certain type of maladjusted individual came to be as he is. In the discussion that followed, a second psychiatrist spoke in length. One would gather, though not too definitely, that he was disagreeing with the first speaker. After he finished, a third colleague arose and said, though much more ornately and in fearsome English, that in his opinion the first two speakers were not far apart. This reassured me no end. Now, it may be said, that I was venturing into a gathering to which

I did not have the "open sesame," and as such could not expect to be able to understand, and that I should be content with the crumbs that fall from the master's table. That may be true, but the speakers were talking to a group made up largely of laymen and should have been able to make themselves intelligible to the audience. Right here, I want to revise my indictment and say that the psychiatrists are not only infernally erudite but woefully under-educated. I say this because a man who really understands his subject should make himself easily understood to an intelligent layman.

The second charge which I lay at the door of psychiatrists is that they are, as a rule, unwilling to go out on a limb. A warden has to make decisions that are final, so does the parole board, but the psychiatrists so circumscribe their conclusions that no matter what happens they are right. I suspect this *modus operandi* is due to a dislike for being over-called by their colleagues. I have noted with what assiduity psychiatrists scan previous psychiatric reports in a given case. This—and I am of two minds—may be good professional practice, or it may be due to the dislike to which I have just referred. I say that a report of this type is of little value to a prison administrator. If the psychiatrist cannot give definite advice, the warden has nothing to guide him in the case. Such reports as I have described definitely decrease the value of the psychiatrists. Therefore, let our infernally erudite but woefully under-educated friends cease fearing to commit themselves.

The third criticism of the psychiatrist is that he fails to realize that he is the part of a general picture. What he wants done should be done, regardless of any traumatic effect it may have on the prison system. Again, he is not custodially minded, he doesn't seem to care particularly if his proposals present great problems for the rest of the staff. He will discuss one inmate with the other and is not concerned about keeping information from those who should not have it. He leaves files lying around with reckless abandon. If he has to depend to some extent upon inmate clerical help, he will soon be treating them as if they were free employees. Again, he fails to recognize the limitations of the penal situation and often makes recommendations which no warden can possibly carry into effect; his recommendations should fit into the existing framework.

The fourth item is this, that psychiatrists often fail to make wise use of the staff. They try to do things that they could very well turn over to the psychologists or counselors, and fail to call into use all members of the professional staff who could be of great help.

In the fifth place, they fail to make good use of their time. It is evident that there are very few prisons which have enough members of this

profession on the staff. The consequence is that there is a great deal for the psychiatrists to do; perhaps more than they can do. Nevertheless, most of these brethren spread themselves out all together too thin. They want to diagnose everybody and the consequence is they treat nobody. The warden would prefer to see some cases well taken care of rather than a very little attention given to everybody.

Finally, the psychiatrist assumes too much authority. He likes to make the assignments and make promises that cannot possibly be fulfilled. Making promises may be good therapy—though I wonder—but such action can certainly put a prison official in an awful crack.

Let me say in conclusion that I realize I have burlesqued this topic a bit. It brings to mind Kipling's introduction to the Barrack Room Ballads.

“I have written the tale of our life,
For a sheltered people's mirth.
In jesting guise—but ye are wise,
And ye know what the jest is worth.”

Finally, I would suggest to the psychiatrists in the audience that, to the charges I have made, they plead *nolo contendere*.

THE PSYCHIATRIC ASPECT

II. THE REFORMATORY SUPERINTENDENT

Albert C. Wagner

IT is with considerable temerity that a mere warden comes to share the platform with such distinguished psychiatrists. For the superior training in human behavior which the psychiatrist has makes the ordinary superintendent and institutional employe stand in awe of him and causes us sometimes to clothe his judgments and recommendations with divine approbation. That's just some of us. Some of the rest of us practical guys responsible for an institution's operation tend to dismiss the psychiatrist with some such phrase as "Ah, he's batty anyway."

But speaking generally I think we—the wardens, deputy wardens, captains, and the rest—have come to have a pretty deep regard and sincere appreciation for the work the psychiatrist does. There are points of conflict, naturally, but they are relatively minor and can be worked out if given a bit of mutual respect and understanding.

In our institution, which houses approximately 600 young adult males, we have one psychiatrist half time, i.e., a half day, five days a week—and therein lies one of our essential problems, one of our most serious quarrels with the psychiatrist—there isn't enough of him to do the things both he and we want to get done.

At Bordentown, the psychiatrist has no purely medical responsibilities. Rather, he conducts psychiatric examinations of all new admissions, with recheck examinations at least once a year; he visits men in lock-up daily, and conducts a limited program of individual therapy. In his examination of inmates, the psychiatrist gives us his impression of the man's mental health or lack of it, usually in the form of specific diagnoses; he gives us hints of the kind of behavior to expect of individual men, and makes valued judgments as to the individual's eventual parolability. We all know how valuable this information and these guides are to the administrator and to staff; in programming, counselling, handling disciplinary problems, and determining parole in those institutions operating the indeterminate sentence; the value of psychiatric service in our institutions has been amply demonstrated over the years. As a matter of fact, I hate to think what it must be like or, what it would be like, to have to

operate an institution which has as its aim the reclamation of offenders without psychiatric help.

I have selected just five points of disagreement, or possible disagreement, between psychiatrists and wardens which seem at least to merit discussion.

The first of these is the criteria which should control the selection of cases for intensive individual work on the part of the psychiatrist, when it is universally true that there is not enough psychiatric service to go around. There are so many and all kinds of cases demanding and deserving psychiatric attention, but when all cannot be reached, how should we select the prisoners to receive what little service is available?

Our psychiatrist chooses sex cases for specialized work. It is the area of his primary interest, and I rather suspect that psychiatrists in other places also select cases on the basis of special interest—and isn't it pretty generally true that the psychiatrist's area of special interest is likely to be with groups whose problems are deep-seated, obscure in origin, and requiring an inordinate amount of time for their amelioration. Perhaps this is as it should be; perhaps we must permit the psychiatrist his area of research and experimentation in the institution; perhaps it is the price we must pay for having this young disciple in our institutions at all.

Yet I cannot help but feel that a much more rewarding area for the application of the psychiatrist's special skill is with that class of inmate whose problems are not so deep-seated, whose prognosis for rehabilitation is fair to good, and who requires less frequent and less intensive psychiatric aid. It is a matter, it seems to me, of putting our best efforts, albeit limited, where they will do the most good.

Does the psychiatrist in your institution ever tell you, or try to tell you, how to handle discipline? Or, are you perhaps associated with one of those more forward-looking institutions where the psychiatrist participates actively in the disciplinary court or board? If he does participate, how often do you follow his suggestions? And when you do follow them, is he more often right or more often wrong? I'll wager that if the wardens in the audience had opportunity to answer these questions, opinion would vary all the way from the frank expression that the psychiatrist should have no place in the handling of discipline, to rather complete acceptance of psychiatric counselling in the disciplinary process. Psychiatrists, too, vary in their opinions on the subject, some feeling that they should be an integral part of the disciplinary program and others who state frankly that they want nothing to do with it. There are many reasons on both sides for these attitudes, but time does not permit us to explore them. Suffice it to say that we do need some meeting of minds on the subject.

Speaking of discipline, my personal experience seems to indicate that many (I was going to say most, or all) psychiatrists hold small brief for the deterrent effect of punishment, even such punishments as withdrawal of privileges, to say nothing about solitary confinement. Our psychiatrist appeals, from time to time, for amelioration of punishment and certainly we have to agree on occasion that a particular inmate has secured maximum benefit from the punishment imposed long before he has satisfied its full requirements. And the disciplinarian can explain to other inmates differential treatment of institutional offenders on occasion, particularly if the subject has previously exhibited bizarre behavior which is pretty generally known to the population. But faced with a wave of sodomy, or fights, gambling or some other disturbance in the institution, it is difficult for the warden to lay aside his time-honored and sometimes tested practice and eliminate from his disciplinary calculations any consideration of the deterrent effect of punishment either on the subject who has offended or on others who may be minded to go and do likewise.

A third area of possible disagreement between psychiatrist and warden is related to discipline and is to be found in the handling of homosexuals inside the prison. We segregate homosexuals at Bordentown, not completely, but with some degree of thoroughness. Our psychiatrist says we are wrong, that segregation provides a traumatic experience for the individual so handled and does more harm than good. Certainly I am in no position to challenge the verity of that statement. Other psychiatrists would undoubtedly say much the same thing.

But with the very real problem of contaminating men and boys in the institution who have not had any homosexual experience, and taking seriously the responsibility he has to see that incarceration has a little deleterious effect as possible on the men in his charge, it is difficult for the warden to accept any alternative to segregation. To him it seems that he is in the situation where he must sacrifice the needs of the few for the welfare of the many. There is probably some middle ground. It is a problem to which psychiatrists and wardens alike should devote some of their best efforts.

I don't know whether I dare mention the next point or not. But I do wish psychiatrists would get around to determining just what a psychopath is, or whether he really exists. It is not so much that present knowledge does not permit an exact description of the psychopath that frets the warden so much as it is the rather irresponsible way in which the term, "psychopathic personality," is used and how the label, "psychopath," is pinned on so many of the folks behind bars by at least a portion of the professional fraternity. In some of our institutions, as high as

70 and 80 per cent of the inmates carry this label.

Perhaps this in itself is not too serious. But unfortunately there has grown up about the term, "psychopath," a connotation that the future of such a person is hopeless. And this is serious, because it destroys much of the initiative of officers, wardens, teachers and instructors who live in the hope that somewhere, someday, somehow, they may have a part in reclaiming at least a few of the unfortunates sent to them. If indeed our knowledge of the psychopath is limited, let us be circumspect in use of the term.

One last point and I shall sit down. Is your psychiatrist, the psychiatrist in your institution, a human fellow? Do you really know him? And does he know inmates as whole people, does he know first-hand how men behave in the wings, in the recreation yard, in any of the varied activities of the institution, or does he know them only as clinical entities? Does he mix with the boys, maybe even participate in some of their activities? How well does he know the officers and staff, and do the officers feel free to talk to him about inmates, maybe even their relationships with inmates—the problems they encounter? Or is he aloof, sitting in some remote part of the institution, seeing men only as he calls for them, and getting out of the institution just as fast as he can when the routine work of the day is done?

There are both kinds of psychiatrists, certainly, just as there are both kinds of the rest of us, whatever our position in the institution. But I do feel that there is real need for our learned friends to get a little closer to us all, to feel that the institution as a whole, as well as general institution problems, is part of their responsibility, too. Certain it is that under such circumstances we can learn more from them and they could be a much more vital force in the institution than they are in many places today.

I trust these few remarks will be taken in a kindly spirit. For, if it were not for the psychiatrist, who would needle us out of our complacency, challenge our smugness, and set our feet on the path that leads eventually to the secrets of human behavior?

THE PSYCHIATRIC ASPECT

III. THE JAIL WARDEN

Paul R. Brown

LET us explore first, what a psychiatrist can or should do in a short term institution or jail. He should be available to examine and give an opinion on any inmate whose behavior indicates to the warden that he may be a psychotic or mentally defective. If the psychiatrist finds a man to be psychotic, he should assist in having this man transferred to the proper mental institution. This may not always be possible, due to lack of facilities. If he finds a man to be a mental defective, this man may or may not be sick enough to be transferred to a mental hospital. If he can be transferred and facilities are available, he should then again assist in bringing this about. If the man cannot be transferred, the psychiatrist may advise the warden on methods of handling the man during his stay in the institution.

What other services can a psychiatrist give to the short term institution? In every jail population there are always a few men who might be helped by treatment. There is also the occasional man who will continue treatment after release. A program can be worked up where a certain number of treatment cases can be handled at all times. If the warden and psychiatrist are on good terms, the psychiatrist can be of invaluable assistance in helping to plan procedures for handling, within the institution, men who are not sick enough to be hospitalized but who are a source of continual trouble in the jail.

The psychiatrist, in many places, visits the jail on order of the court, to examine men waiting trial or waiting court disposition.

What are the areas of disagreement? From my observation, much of the cause for disagreement, when it occurs, stems from the same cause that makes a warden and a troublesome inmate disagree—a difference in personality. Difference in language, in words, is another cause.

In my experience, I have found that institution psychiatrists seldom try to develop good relations with anyone but their patients.

Some psychiatrists have the opinion that a jail warden is just a political job holder, who knows nothing about human beings and their problems. Some wardens believe that a psychiatrist is a stuffed shirt who wants him to coddle his cussed and troublesome prisoners. The warden says,

"This man is dangerous; he is crazy; he ought not to be released." The psychiatrist says, "I agree, but he isn't crazy enough to be put in a mental hospital." Some wardens get the idea that the psychiatrist is splitting hairs, that he could commit him if he wanted to.

Some time ago I listened to a warden criticize an able and experienced psychiatrist because he would not commit an inmate, with a neurotic character disorder, to a mental hospital. The inmate had been in jail several times, was always a serious problem, and the warden believed him to be dangerous. The psychiatrist did not believe the inmate to be dangerous, and there was no law which would permit the man to be committed. The warden should have been willing to accept the psychiatrist's opinion and he should have known that there is no law to cover many of our most troublesome and even dangerous people.

On the other hand, not long ago a young psychiatrist was assigned to the institution I manage, and, on his first visit to examine an inmate, I took him into my office to get acquainted with him. He spent an hour telling me the facts of life and finished up by giving me a list of books which he advised me to read. He was very sincere, but very sure that he had all of the knowledge there was to be had.

Another cause for disagreement seems to lie in the fact that the warden often does not know enough about different kinds of mental disorders and how difficult it is for the psychiatrist to find enough reasons for committing many of these men to mental hospitals. He often does not know enough about what a psychiatrist can or should do. The psychiatrist cannot perform miracles, and treatment is a long-term and expensive process with doubtful results.

The psychiatrist often does not give enough attention to the public attitude toward the man who commits crime or to the jail warden's problems in handling these men. He may give directions or make suggestions that to the jail warden are downright silly. A few months ago we had a young man 20 years of age. He was an alcoholic; he gave evidence of having some neurotic character disorder. The psychiatrist started treating him and gave directions that he was to spend two afternoons a week at Hospital O.T. department, a mile from the penitentiary, making pottery. The young man wanted to make a tea set. The psychiatrist had not troubled himself to find out that, in our own department, we had a great variety of useful work under almost normal working conditions which should have been explored first, before assigning the inmate to a luxury hobby—especially since we had already assigned this man to a job he liked and in which he was making a good adjustment.

The chief complaint about our psychiatrists is that it is difficult to get

them to discuss a case with us or to recognize the fact that we may have something to contribute which might be of assistance in treatment. They seem to feel that the two hours spent with the patient once or twice a week is all that is necessary.

So much for disagreement—can we have agreement? Until we do have, not much is going to be accomplished. First, the warden must realize that, unless he is an exception and has considerable knowledge about human behavior and mental illness, the psychiatrist does know more about such things than he does and that he can learn much from the psychiatrist.

Second, the psychiatrist must learn that the average warden, if he has had any experience at all, knows a lot of practical things about human behavior that he doesn't know, unless, of course, the psychiatrist has had considerable experience working in a prison.

Third, they should both realize that, to get the best results, there must be a cooperative effort; each getting the benefit of the other's findings.

In an ideal situation, the psychiatrist can help the warden almost constantly by interpreting the behavior of troublesome prisoners, and advising the warden on procedures to try for handling these men. The warden and the psychiatrist should reach an agreement on what best can be done for mental defectives that are not committable (neurotic character disorders, or the so-called psychopathic personality; homosexuals, and other sex offenders.) The warden must realize that he is stuck with most of these men. Maybe they don't belong in jail—maybe they do. Nevertheless, he has them and he is going to have to gear his institution the best he can to handle them.

Mental defectives cannot always be committed to hospitals, and mental defectives are not always socially defective. You might be able to get them to adjust; your psychiatrist can help you.

The person suffering from neurotic character disorder will be in your hair all of the time, but you've got him and there is no place else to send him. Here again, your psychiatrist can help you. Perhaps he cannot cure him, but he may help you find a spot in your institution where he can do some useful work under pretty constant supervision and get a feeling of being needed, and as a result be not quite as troublesome as he would be if you simply assigned him to a job without planning, or treated him as just another inmate.

There is much confusion on how to handle homosexuals and sex offenders in jails and short term institutions. Here again, the psychiatrist is the best source of information, since each case should be considered separate from the rest.

In order to get the most from psychiatry in jails and short term institutions, the psychiatrist must broaden his interests to take in more of the jail problems, and not just confine himself to the patient he is working with.

The warden must broaden his interest to try to understand what really makes men act as they do, and to understand and believe that a psychiatrist is very much limited in what he can do in a jail situation other than act as a consultant and tell the warden what he believes might work.

To some wardens—forget the funny cartoons you have seen about psychiatrists and don't expect them to do the impossible.

To some psychiatrists—get rid of your preconceived notions about jail wardens, and you may be surprised how much useful, practical knowledge the warden you are working with has about human beings.

THE PSYCHIATRIC ASPECT

IV. THE CRIMINAL INSANE INSTITUTION PSYCHIATRIST

Groves B. Smith, M.D.

THE role of a psychiatrist within a mental institution associated with a penal system presents a varied pattern of experiences. The exact character of these experiences, of course, depends upon the setup within the individual state institutions.

In Illinois there exists a division of authority, in that in one group all persons who disclose a definite active psychosis which existed at the time of the commission of the crime or, if indicted, existed prior to the actual determination of guilt or innocence by jury trial or court hearing, are, after a sanity hearing before a duly selected jury, sent to one of the security hospital units of the Department of Public Welfare as mental cases to be retained until they have recovered to the point where the trial may again be taken up. The same applies to those who are relieved of responsibility by reason of having been declared a ward of the State of Illinois by reason of mental deficiency.

In the second group, all persons who have been found guilty either by a jury trial or by their own plea and are awaiting transfer to the penal system—or those who, during the period of their confinement within the penal institution, demonstrate the existence of an active mental state, namely, an active psychosis, or mental deficiency with continuing criminal tendencies, or a criminally sexually psychopathic pattern of institutional adjustment—are automatically transferred to the psychiatric division of our Southern Penitentiary which is the mental institution of the Illinois Penal System. This group is under the Division of Public Safety, there being, from a practical viewpoint, a complete dissociation between the two groups, although there is full cooperation in the majority of instances.

The psychiatrist who handles the group under the Department of Public Welfare is faced with the problem of determining when such individuals are completely and permanently recovered. Then, too, in many instances this mental disease angle is used as a legal subterfuge to prevent the inmate from being found guilty and entered on the basis of judgment to a penal system, for it has been found that after a period of a few months the degree of community pressures decreases; the wit-

nesses that were available at the time of the original hearing can no longer be found, the time element being of major importance. In those cases where a period of years has elapsed, it is almost impossible to return such an individual back to court for trial. It is probably in this group that the legal profession has exercised its constitutional rights in handling the conduct of the case as they see fit, oftentimes irrespective of the rights of the individual and the rights of the community, and in spite of psychiatric recommendations.

In these types of cases, the psychiatrist is caught between two pressures—first, he realizes that some individuals in certain instances are definite malingerers; and secondarily there is, oftentimes, a misguided attempt to evade the pronouncement of a mental state due to a lack of understanding, both on the part of the court as well as the lawyers involved, as to what constitutes mental disease.

This is an extremely important question and, as yet, there has never been an adequate definition as to what represents accountability and responsibility in mental cases. This is particularly true in relation to the mentally deficient, for oftentimes an individual who has been declared to be a feeble-minded person and a ward of the state can, from a strictly legal standpoint, understand the nature of the act which he committed, is in a position to distinguish between right and wrong, and is able to confer with counsel in a fairly adequate manner.

Nevertheless, such individuals, including those who are guilty beyond all doubt, have been given every opportunity to have legal representation and are then removed from the mental institutions by virtue of the existence of this lack of understanding of such underlying procedures. This is particularly true in the State of Illinois at the present time, following a recent decision of the Illinois Supreme Court in the case of one Willis.

Also in the background we have the fact that the law, as it exists today, has not kept pace with the medical advances of the past 25 years, and, therefore, is somewhat slow to recognize the changing philosophies and interests; for inasmuch as each individual has the right to maintain his constitutional rights through being returned to court through a writ of habeas corpus or a petition alleging deviation in constitutional procedures, we are somewhat handicapped in that the medical opinion must bow in certain instances to the authority of those who have been given a mandate by law to accept the responsibility for the care and welfare of such individuals.

In the Illinois penal system, all individuals are admitted to a diagnostic depot, where intensive medical, psychological, sociological, and psychiatric

investigations are made. On the basis of this, then, the individual is placed in certain divisions under a classification act.

All cases transferred into or from the psychiatric division are transferred by reclassification, based upon psychiatric findings and evaluation, and to this extent their entrance into or exit from this division is dependent upon the diagnosis and the recommendations of the psychiatrist and the classification board. However, the integral care of the individual, once he arrives within the psychiatric division, evolves upon and is under the direction of the administrative officials, we being in a purely advisory capacity. Therefore, it behooves us, as psychiatrists, to use common sense in our overall evaluation of what we can expect to do in behalf of such inmates. Since the physician, and particularly the psychiatrist, can only act in the capacity of making recommendations, it is largely upon the character of these recommendations that a psychiatric service rises or falls.

From this point the problems of the two groups—the group which is under the Department of Public Welfare, and the group which is under the Department of Public Safety—to a large extent follow the same general pattern.

First, many of the problems that arise in the care and supervision of such inmates are dependent upon the personalities of both the administrative officials, as well as that of the psychiatrist. A greater responsibility evolves upon the psychiatrist, for after all being a student of personality, he should be in a position to interpret and guide the thinking and the philosophy of these other individuals.

However, one must emphasize that, from a medical standpoint, our interests are primarily in the diagnosis, treatment, and the rehabilitation of those entrusted to our care, whereas the administrative officers have a somewhat different responsibility. It is their duty, by law, to assume the responsibility for the care and custody of such individuals during the legal period of their incarceration.

In any given institution, the rules and regulations and the disciplinary measures enacted, to a large extent, reflect the thinking and philosophies of the administrator in charge. It is unfortunate that those administrators, who entered penal service through the years when the inmate was looked upon purely as a criminal at heart who should be materially punished for his alleged misdeeds, have caused these attitudes to be in vogue in many institutional situations today. This attitude, unfortunately, entirely ignores the changing psychiatric import of motivation. To the psychiatrist, it is not the nature of the crime or the length of sentence that is of importance. It is important to understand the personality makeup, the environmental

factors which led to the commission of the act, as well as understanding the individual's responsibility and accountability for such alleged misbehavior. It is essential that we also understand that not all such individuals are definitely criminalistic. Certain of these individuals have been denied an adequate opportunity to be respected solid citizens; by having to live in a borderline or a low socio-economic status, by having been denied the opportunities of an education, and by having been introduced into delinquent attitudes through long and continued association with the antisocial forces of the community.

Medical training has, in the past few years, evolved and developed certain philosophies that have not been accepted in all instances by the lay public. This includes psychoanalysis, shock therapy, and surgical intervention in the way of lobotomies. For this reason, oftentimes, the lay opinion of the administrative officials has not kept pace with the medical advances of the past 25 years—and the same can be said of the laws now existent in many states today.

At this point we wish to point out that justice, as represented by the opinions of the court, is extremely variable. Too often, within a given morning, we will interview an individual from a rural area who has received 10 times the sentence meted out to an individual coming from an urban environment, where crime and sex offenses are seemingly condoned by public opinion. The smaller the community, the greater is the severity of the initial sentence, this apparently by reason of the fact that, in a smaller community, the antisocial act is considered a more personal affront to the dignity of the community, whereas in a larger community the antisocial act is looked upon as a natural occurrence.

We can, therefore, anticipate from the very beginning that this immediately serves as a troublesome problem once such an individual is incarcerated in an institution. It tends to bring out underlying paranoid trends and projective thinking; he feels that he has been unjustly accused and treated by society, and this, too often, is reflected in his behavior within the institution.

It is extremely important, also, that partners in a given crime, who have been given entirely different sentences, should be placed in different environments so that they will not be constantly faced with the situation of feeling that there has been discrimination.

If one has an adequate understanding of antisocial behavior, one knows that it is often a reflection of these background hatreds and frustrations which causes upheaval. Although it is easy to understand and oftentimes easy to recommend placement of such individuals, it is quite often difficult

to convince administrative officials of the necessity of such recommendations, and the administrative official who fails to understand certain of these extremely important motivations is an individual who is not fitted for the job of being a warden.

The out-moded, but most often used, idea of trying to treat all inmates in the same manner is another stumbling block. There are certain inmates who respond to kindness, and there are just as many who take advantage of the same. There are certain individuals whose entire life has been dominated by stern measures, and they do not respect the individual who apparently adopts a conciliatory or even wishy-washy attitude. Therefore the administrator, as well as the psychiatrist, must endeavor to understand the individual with whom he is dealing, so that the best manner of handling the individual is used.

The problem of the so-called "stool-pigeon" system continues to be a major problem. In a prison environment those inmates in particular who are worldly-wise and have served time in many of our larger institutions, learn early that they can profit by being stool-pigeons or by rendering service to the administrative officials in one way or another. In certain instances, these individuals do help in preventing escapes or homicidal assaults; however, in most instances these "informers" make up things about individuals they dislike and let the administrative officials do his "dirty work" for him. At the time, it seems to be the wisest thing to be lenient with such individuals and to follow the information they have given.

However, over a period of years, one is certain to find that only one pattern of action can be followed, and that is one that is based upon a judicial attitude in which an individual is evaluated for what he is, for what we can make out of him, and for what the penal environment can accept as a standardized type of behavior.

The psychiatrist comes in contact daily with the vagaries of such philosophies, and it is oftentimes impossible to develop attitudes in such persons that will be valuable to them upon release from a penal atmosphere when, throughout their entire stay within the institution, they are encouraged in behavior which will not be condoned by society in general in the free community. One can assume an understanding attitude in these matters, one can give sympathy when sympathy is due, but on the other hand when an individual deliberately takes advantage of the rules and regulations, or takes advantage of other inmates, we do not gain by letting them get away with such behavior; sooner or later this leads to a breakdown of the whole institutional morale, and then it becomes necessary to enforce rules and regulations through brute force.

Another feature of major importance is the change in personnel with each variation in political victory. It has come to be an accepted procedure, even in spite of so-called civil-service regulations, to have a complete change-over in personnel when the incumbent party is defeated.

If one is in a psychiatric capacity for a long period wherein he can see these influences at work, one can understand the measures which are used by inmates to play one set of officials against the other. Time after time we have heard that when the Democrats were in office inmates got better food, or they were more lenient in their discipline, and they did not resort to brute force in order to go along and overcome the deficiencies. However, the story is essentially the same when there is a reversal in administrations, and there is just as much of an alignment among the inmates of a psychiatric division of a prison as there is among those in the other groups.

The best officers are not those who write the most punishment tickets and bring about the most frequent visits to solitary for minor disciplinary offenses. In fact, one can often determine the adequacy of the officers and the captains by the scarcity of such punishment reports, for we can immediately perceive that such an individual is interested in the physical welfare of his charges and is motivated by an insight and understanding into their behavior, although in many instances he is completely unaware of the psychiatric and psychological motivations which he is using in attempting to care for them.

Within any psychiatric division we find that many of these minor disciplinary reports clearly reflect the personality of the administrative officials.

Administrative posts within a psychiatric institution too often represent transfer from the general group, based not upon personality qualifications, but rather as punishment posts for officers who have not gone along with the procedures in effect within the various departments in the general divisions. This is an extremely unhealthy situation, and one that cannot do otherwise than disturb the well-functioning of such units.

In principle, we should state that the best officers, both in an administrative capacity and in the ordinary conduct of the affairs, should be those who have had specialized training and who have had the benefit of observation of the care and treatment of mental cases within a good psychiatric hospital. Unfortunately, in the majority of our institutions, this is not the program, with the result that the psychiatric division often represents the wastebasket to which all of the problem officers within the institution gravitate.

Admissions to the psychiatric division often places a tremendous burden

on the ingenuity and the diagnostic acumen of the psychiatrist. In certain instances we find individuals who can no longer accept the discipline or who feel that they are being pushed around by the administrative officials, whether this be by reason of aggressiveness, homicidal behavior, or merely the fact that they are an Italian or a Jew. Sometimes this leads them to "bug up" and thereby be candidates for psychiatric observation.

Individuals who have served a longer-than-usual term within various major penal institutions are past masters in the art of acting. They know full well the symptoms of a degression and the anxiety that is created by their attempts at slashing their wrists, or making a noose out of a sheet or their shirt. They are past masters at being able to present the appearance of an individual who is just about to take his life, either within his cell or within the solitary unit, and no administrator, irrespective of how hard and distorted may be his attitudes, wants such an individual to die under such circumstances. This occasionally serves as a means of escape from such intolerable situations.

Within a period of a few days after the transfer of such an individual to the easy life of the psychiatric division, where he has a cell of his own, where the discipline and the routines are heavenly as contrasted with the routines of other environments, he immediately changes and the mantle of depression or aggressiveness drops and he stands for what he is—a malingerer who has clearly put on a bug act.

Such individuals can make or break the reputation of the psychiatrist, both in the eyes of the administrator and in the eyes of the inmate population. In a practical sense, this can be easily broken up by reclassification within a period of 48 hours, once the mechanisms can be adequately evaluated. However, a more subtle means is the use of a series of shock treatments. Therefore, we find no matter how hardened or how aggressive the individual, the fact that he has to face this little instrument with electrical energy brings about a change in philosophy. One would emphasize that shock therapy under such circumstances is not a means of punishment, but rather a rational pattern of medical treatment and should be used only under the strictest psychiatric interpretation, and not under the basis of administrative pressures.

Within the psychiatric division, all deviations in behavior—whether it be aggressiveness or an apparent unwillingness to abide by rules and regulations—must be judged as not responsible for their behavior. This, however, does not exempt an individual who is harboring definite delusions of persecution but who, nevertheless, possesses the insight and knowledge to know that he has disobeyed many of the rules and regula-

tions, from having certain privileges taken away from him; for there is no physical hardship in the denial of certain privileges, such as attendance at movies, or in extreme cases the denial of participation in religious activities. In this latter group, however, there will immediately be a storm of protest, because the present discussant feels that under any and all circumstances such individuals should have recourse to their religious advisor for counsel and guidance. This matter is brought up merely for the purpose of affording a topic of discussion, rather than presenting the views of the psychiatrist at hand.

Again, one must be guarded in accepting the word or even the written report of the captains or officers who have been involved in disciplinary situations with psychiatric cases. The present examiner makes it a rule not only to interview the officer to obtain the official version, but also checks up through a personal contact with the inmate himself, also gathering such secondary information as may be available from those among the inmates in whom the individual has confidence. In order to justify this, it has been our rule to make a progress note within 24 hours, if possible, of each acute behavior situation. In this way we have the facts as are ascertained at the time, rather than trying to piece things together after a period of some months or even years, when such individuals find recourse within the courts to present their grievances. This is particularly important, for in any psychiatric unit there are a number of paranoid individuals wherein the existence of systematized patterns of behavior clearly reflect themselves in the changes exhibited in the progress notes.

It should also be pointed out that one of the chief headaches, both within the general penal population as well as the psychiatric hospital, is that large group known as psychopathic personalities, both the inadequate as well as the aggressive type, both with or without evidence of distortion in insight and judgment, which renders them acceptable in a psychiatric unit on the basis of an active psychosis.

In the general penal populations, probably five per cent of our overall population represents a major distortion in personality structure that can be classified as a psychopathic personality. These limited individuals, however, probably make up at least 75 to 80 per cent of the institutional headaches and problems. They are the individuals who, day after day, are the root of trouble within the laboring gang or within the tailor shop, or who are invariably behind the disturbances which are created in the dining room. Their ability to detach themselves from responsibility for any actions on the part of other misguided inmates who have been misled by their suggestions invariably tends to bring disaster to the other

inmates, while the psychopathic personality sits on the sidelines and gleefully watches somebody else being punished for his agitating.

We must emphasize that in any community relationship within the institution, the whole moral fibre of that institution rests upon the respect of one officer for another. The psychiatrist who cannot respect his superior officers, or the administrative official who cannot respect the opinion of the psychiatrist, cannot live and work together for any extended period of time. It is, therefore, important that we build up throughout the entire institution the feeling that when one makes a decision, that decision is based upon merit and justice, that the welfare of the individual as well as the welfare of the institution has been given adequate consideration. Unless one uses this evaluation we are headed for trouble, for prejudice, favoritism, and an unwillingness to attempt to understand the frustrations and the conflicts of those entrusted to our care is a detriment to a well-run institution, and certainly these conditions will never bring about the rehabilitation and reorientation of those entrusted to our care.

We must now mention that a psychiatric institution should endeavor to rehabilitate, reorient, and secondarily reform those individuals who are committed to its care. Such an adequate program cannot work until there are measures by which the mentally retarded can be given opportunities at scholastic and vocational training. The individual needs recreational outlets just as much within a psychiatric division in a penal setup as he does in those assigned to the care of the general mental hospitals in the community. Last, but not least, there should be a thorough and careful medical, psychological, psychiatric, and sociological investigation of the individual so that we know with whom we are dealing and what we can anticipate in the way of future adjustment.

We cannot pass over the fact that to spend ten thousand dollars convicting a man and putting him in prison, and then upon the day of his release giving him a new hat, \$10 and a suit of clothes that can be recognized as a prison suit several blocks off, it is asking too much to then expect such an individual to make an adequate social adjustment, particularly if he has been subjected to the conflicts and the turmoils of a term within a psychiatric division as well as a period spent within the general group. There should be available adequate medical and surgical opportunities for rehabilitation, and Dr. Pick at Stateville has led the way in showing the world what can be accomplished through the reorientation of individuals through the alleviation of physical deformity.

A subject which has been relegated to the past but which exists in all institutional environments, particularly within psychiatric divisions, is the

sex problem. More and more we come to believe that the individuals who are chronic sex offenders, who by law are admitted to our institutions as criminal sexual psychopaths with continuing propensities for the commission of sex acts, do not belong in the same environment with other individuals. Not only do they act as a means of keeping alive the problems of homosexuality, but they oftentimes bring about a feeling of rejection on the part of the officers through their own lack of adequate sex orientation. At the present time, the whole question of the sex offender, within and without the mental hospital environment, is one whose final chapters have not as yet been written and there is need for further study before one can make adequate recommendations.

In closing, one wishes to emphasize that the welfare of the psychiatric institution within a penal system depends upon the adequacy and the training of its personnel, the maintenance of a spirit of rehabilitation, a willingness to forego punitive measures when they are in conflict with evidence of distortions and behavior by reason of motivations which do not lie within the province of the individuals to control, plus the adequacy of the physical plant, and particularly the adequacy of the medical, the surgical, the sociological, and the psychiatric opportunities for evaluation and treatment.

THE PSYCHIATRIC ASPECT
V. THE CORRECTIONAL INSTITUTION
PSYCHIATRIST

David G. Schmidt, M.D.

THE agreement areas are probably common to all of those attending this particular session, since all forward looking and progressive penologists are in agreement on the following points.

All present being good wardens and psychiatrists, we largely agree among ourselves on all points that have been made. The adverse criticisms have all been against and about poor wardens and poor psychiatrists. Good psychiatrists and good wardens agree quite largely, at least on general principleness.

There are very few of us that adhere to the philosophy of learning more and more about less and less until we know practically everything about nothing. Similarly there are very few of us that think that we learn less and less about more and more until we know nothing about everything. Most good psychiatrists and good wardens quite generally agree that neither of them know it all and yet those wardens and those psychiatrists who really need the good advice do not come to these meetings, nor do they come to these Correctional Congresses. It is largely among them that much confusion exists. In fact some of them are so confused, they remind us of the little boy who went to Sunday School and came home and told his daddy they learned all about the "cross-eyed bear." Not the "Golden Bear," or the "California Bear," but the "cross-eyed bear." And come to find out that all he really had done was to sing that wonderful old song, "Gladly Thy Cross I'd Bear."

Much confusion exists between many psychiatrists and wardens and many of us have a "cross to bear." We also have a "ball to carry." We have a mission to perform. We have a duty and obligation to carry out, to rehabilitate the men that are sent to us as offenders. What are we doing about carrying this ball? We have a job to do and we fail too often—which reminds me of the golfer who went out on the golf links and took a healthy swing at the ball. He missed the ball completely. He took another swing and tore up a bunch of turf, missing the ball again. On his third swing he took a terrific slice and wiped out an ant hill almost totally; except for two small ants. One ant said to the other little

ant, "Say, if we don't want to be exterminated, you and I had better get on the ball;" and so it is with us psychiatrists and wardens and penologists. The mortality rate on wardens is much too high.

We wardens and psychiatrists are agreed on:

1. Crime costs too much, possibly between ten and twenty billion a year, and yet are we spending enough for prevention and treatment? World War II cost us more than 332 billion dollars for the four years. Alcohol costs us over seven and one-half billion per year, yet all of our public education does not cost us three billion dollars a year. Should not we use much more of this money for constructive prevention and for treatment, instead of for destruction, or temporary custody?

2. The maintenance of prisoners is expensive: 100 million a year, covering the 120,000 adults and 30,000 juveniles in prisons and reformatories, and some 110,000 in local jails and work houses.

3. Too many felonies are committed by men who are not caught, since even the best police departments run but a scant 25 to 30 per cent apprehensions, and the best in the country runs only 37 per cent.

4. The greatest tragedy of our present system is the momentary protection it provides society, often converting the amateur criminal into a professional, through the use of antiquated methods; of handling and treatment, including kangaroo courts, punishment, wardens being paid at so much a head to feed, and so forth.

5. Our court procedures are antiquated, largely because of public attitudes and indifference, demanding (a) punishment to suit the crime; (b) hard labor, which is practically non existent; (c) confinement as the law prescribes; and (d) profit from his experience, even though it may be hanging.

6. The indeterminate sentence is not used in a large enough number of cases.

7. Professionally trained workers in sociology, psychology, medicine and psychiatry are few and far between, and they find a terrific inertia and resistance, open and subversive, which is disheartening and discouraging and deters many from entering the field while causing many to leave the field.

8. A good accurate diagnosis is so necessary that until recently this has taken most of our time, leaving little for treatment. Too often the attitude of penologists is not based on scientific findings, and therefore is productive of little if any rehabilitation. Treatment without good diagnosis is quackery and leads to few cures, illness and crippling.

I am glad to hear Dr. Bell, with the good help of John Burke, Paul Yount and A. W. Bayley, has been able to get a salary increase for his

doctors and psychiatrists in the prisons in Wisconsin. More power to them. They are still probably underpaid, but they are beginning to get some recognition.

9. Custody should be largely in the hands of custodial officers, who have, at the same time as they are keeping the prisoner in custody as the law prescribes, at least a partial responsibility in rehabilitation of the individual.

10. Treatment, individual and group, should be largely in the hands of professionally trained personnel. This requires a reasonable amount of acceptance and understanding which, at the same time, must not proceed to the bounds of familiarity. Simultaneously, treatment personnel have, in part, a duty to keep the custodial factors in mind, since it is so difficult to give scientifically valid, absent treatments. Institutional maintenance and convenience should be considered in work assignments but should not overrule the responsibility toward the individual, nor should it work a hardship on a man who is sick, either physically or mentally.

11. Service to society in the restoration of the rehabilitated individual to the community life also involves duty to the individuals, as well as to the department of corrections or institution.

12. We should all work together, studying and understanding the inmates and their personalities. We need to better understand and study ourselves and our attitudes to understand the attitudes, the feeling tone, and the dynamics underlying the various personalities we deal with. Our statistics show that about 12% are mental defectives, 8% are psychotics, 40% are psychoneurotics and 20 to 30% are psychopaths. Whether they are emotionally immature or socially immature or mentally ill, they need to be treated and socialized and matured all the way from the infantile, child, or intra-family socialization level to the school, community, neighborhood, or extra family socialization levels.

Psychoneurotic personality problems with evasion and conversion mechanisms that have developed, chronic cephalalgias, neuritis; respiratory symptoms, such as asthma, bronchitis, sinusitis, hyperventilation; the cardiovascular neuroses; gastrointestinal neuroses with colitis, gas, aerophagia, ulcers; genitourinary neuroses, including enuresis, sexual psychopathy; and arthritic conditions, neuroses—emotional instability and impulsivities, all have causes and cures.

13. Treatment personnel should establish their value through *service*; not only to the individual but also the institution and society.

Some of the disagreements can be listed as:

1. Punishment individualized should not supersede treatment. When an inmate is sick physically or mentally, his health should come first.

Treatment is largely the responsibility of professionally trained medical and allied workers, but in part the responsibility of custody. Often a little knowledge is a dangerous thing, and the insufficiently trained custodial officer often feels that his treatment should be one for the elimination of natural cussedness, meanness, orneriness, et cetera, a type outmoded half a century ago. Prisoners are mostly sick people, in approximately these proportions: mentally, 8%; psychometrically, 12%; psychoneurotically, 40%; and psychopathically 20 to 30%, which leaves 10 to 20% as adjustment problems.

2. The attitude should not be, "I will punish him first and then give him to you for treatment. I will punish him because he is a ring leader. We can't baby or molly-coddle him. He starts strikes in the mess hall, at work, in solitary; he destroys morale in others." I have often had the experience of telling a deputy warden or other official, "this man is sick," only to get the answer—"He's just mean," et cetera. This punishment of sick prisoners boomerangs on the custodial and administrative officer, because men who are sick need treatment and will not profit by punishment—they only get worse. Other inmates who realize that we punish the sick will carry resentment and hostility and harbor and inflate these resentments and eventually will do much more harm to the system. They rationalize this as a talking point and use it as a lever that the system should be destroyed or wrecked because of its heartlessness and inhumaneness. Each man should preferably be examined physically and mentally before being sent to solitary or isolation for serious disciplinary infractions. Some wardens are too rigid and punitive.

3. Doctors and medical personnel, sociologists and psychologists, need the help of the custodial forces as much as the custodial force needs their help, not only in bringing the patients to the hospital for treatment but in carrying out the day-to-day treatment of these men in their contacts with them in the general population.

4. Vocational and administrative staffs need the help of the medical men and patient treatment facilities, despite their constant complaining that they cannot release men from work for treatment to keep up their health and welfare, physically, psychiatrically, mentally.

5. Good interpersonal relationships should exist between all of the treatment and custodial forces. The work is not parallel but should be cooperative. Small men with a little authority, whether they be in the custodial or medical field, often become fat headed, making rules *ad infinitum*. If carried out to the letter, many of these rules are detrimental to good treatment and consume so much time of the personnel in red tape that little time remains for real treatment; they are productive of little

rehabilitation, there is poor morale, little satisfaction, and much resentment on part of all concerned.

6. The old argument between hereditary and environment still goes on, and yet our own country and its progress is in many ways illustrative of the dominance of environment, since most of us have come from a poorer continental environment and have done much better for the change. Most (70 to 90 per cent) of our men in prison who are constantly in trouble come from homes where there is an environment of conflict.

7. Rehabilitation takes more than fear of consequences. Resistance to progress; inertia; desire to stay in the status quo; yearning for the good old times and arbitrary punishing and making them like it, have failed and are incongruous today.

8. We have too many bastiles. They are made for the few who need maximum custody; most of our inmates do not need such custody. Some of that time, energy, effort and money could be spent in prevention and treatment of crime and in the apprehension of more than one-fifth or one-fourth of the offenders. The uncaught make us a laughing stock among the prisoners and justify them in their attitudes that only the dumbest get caught. With a healthier perspective and a few more professionally trained personnel, we can screen out those that need maximum custody and treat those that do not need maximum custody under conditions much more favorable for rehabilitation. This is a challenge not only to our professionally trained people, but for the career men in the field of penology and for every prison, reformatory, parole and probation worker, as well as our doctors and district attorneys, lawyers, judges and statesmen.

9. Our prisoners must be accepted as human beings, as individuals, with some reservations (that they need to change for the better) to bring out best within them. They need a voice in their destiny. Emphasize the discovery of causes and motivations and help them work out their problems of social adjustment and maturation, whether they be in the prison or outside. Most necessary in treatment is uncovering the motivation or dynamics behind our offender's thinking, feeling, and action; the hidden sorrow, the injury, or "thorn in his subconscious flesh," which directly or indirectly causes him to commit crimes.

10. Lastly, some may disagree but psychiatrists are not helping wardens enough and wardens are not helping psychiatrists enough. Unless we are able, by individual and group treatment, to help the offender recognize his motivation, understand the cause, and preferably the development of his nemesis, and unless we can further help him to work

through his previously subconscious problems, we will continue to largely fail at rehabilitation. We will continue to recruit criminals, parole violators, recidivists, maladjusted citizens, and all the "isms;" and every generation a Hitler, a Stalin and a war of major magnitude, and eventually a country largely over-run by psychopaths, our failures.

THE PSYCHIATRIC ASPECT

PSYCHIATRIC TREATMENT IN PROBATION AND PAROLE

Louis Jacobs, M.D.

THE very considerable present interest in psychiatry and mental health makes us wonder whether this approach can be more effective with offenders than we have known it to be in the past. For a number of years now we have had psychiatric evaluations of the offender's personality for the court; we have had the psychiatric summary included in the presentence report; we have had such summaries in institutional classification, and we have even had psychiatrists on boards of parole. The reports have often been of interest, sometimes apparently excusing the offender's acts in esoteric language, or on other occasions stigmatizing him with a psychiatric designation of his personality which stands for a hopeless prognosis. Institutional classification summaries have tended to become stereotyped and institutional psychiatry has often been wanting in treatment. The record of objective psychiatric evaluations during the stay in institutions has, on the other hand, been of much value to the parole boards and is an activity of psychiatry that most administrators in the field will approve.

The science of the emotions and of the relations of man with his environment has been evolving rather slowly in the past thirty or forty years. Both psychiatrists and social workers have come far from their rather narrow early concepts to the present emphasis on the individual as an active influential agent in his environment. The psychiatrist's early emphasis on biological considerations and on constitutional factors has given way to a study of the psychological motivations, of the effects on the life outlook of the personal relationships and settings in which the individual lives. The social worker—the case worker—has also progressed from an emphasis on man's being a "precipitate" of the social forces about him, a pawn in the environmental game, to a recognition of the individual as a member of a family or cultural group who can do something about the realities of his situation.

The treatment of the delinquent, like the treatment of others with emotional problems, is that of the individual in his environment. This cannot therefore be approached by one profession alone. Recent studies

of young offenders under 20 years of age show that the most frequent generalization that can be drawn is to say that these are antisocial personalities with neurotic traits or neuroses. Most of them have been deprived of parents or good parental relationships before the age of ten. Most of them lack any good consecutive school or work records and rarely have any vocational training. Surely the field of prevention through amelioration of social situations is obvious here. The psychiatric study shows that the great majority of the delinquents have severe neurotic traits, depression often with suicidal intent, excessive feelings of guilt, excessive shyness, seclusiveness, and, in the older delinquents, sexual deviation and the symptom of excessive alcoholism. These neurotic symptoms are present in greater or lesser degree as is the case with the antisocial reaction. Some offenders have little neurosis and are more seriously anti-social, others are obviously severely neurotic. The delinquents with neurotic disorders are primarily in need of psychotherapy.

Treatment today is a product of the "team" approach. The diffusion of the knowledge of the emotional forces which result in our behavior have become widespread among the professions. The concept of delinquent behavior as a symptom, acting out of deep conflicts over parental authority as well as over lack of adequate growth of independence of judgment and conscience, has pointed the way for study and research in treatment.

The psychiatrist is using new methods to solve hitherto baffling disturbances. The psychologist has concentrated his attention on the objective evaluation of the personality and has devised ingenious tests which are being standardized. The social work profession too, has shown great interest in the possibilities of the new knowledge concerning the emotions, and uses these concepts in history taking, in casework, and for training in the field of psychiatric social work. As you know, both the clinical psychologist and the psychiatric social worker have often become, through much training and supervised experience, effective therapists in the clinic setting.

This "team approach" implies that the court, the probation officer, the institution and the parole officer, must have access to the combined skills of the psychiatrist, psychiatric social worker and psychologist in order to have the greatest benefit from the psychiatric approach. This is of course the optimum, the ideal, and is realized only in the largest populated areas of this country. It is not an ideal solely because there is lack of recognition for the need of these services, but because of the lack of professional mental health personnel. Everything that we say about psychotherapy will be said with the realization that whatever the value of

this approach, it is not a practical approach until more professional personnel are available to apply such methods of treatment.

How does the psychiatrist aid in your work? The study of psychopathology that he has undertaken makes him expert in the diagnosis of the neurotic or psychotic conditions which afflict so many of our delinquents. His field lies in the assay of the neurosis and of its role in the delinquent activities. The obviously psychotic offenders are relatively infrequent, usually having been seen and diagnosed before they come to us, or are so ill that the psychiatric report becomes merely a labeling of the illness. This applies also to the mental defective. The psychiatric portion of the presentence report or the court psychiatric report are of value in estimating the kind of treatment, institutional or otherwise that the offender needs. Usually the delinquent has been found guilty as charged, and as the question of probation or commitment arises, a complete report on his emotional problems and the interpersonal situation may be of considerable assistance to the court. It should indicate the treatment needed and likewise denote where and how it can be obtained. The court must have this latter information after being apprised of the emotional problem.

If supervision by probation is decided upon, the probation officer should take a definite role in the plan for psychiatric treatment. The extent of his participation depends upon his competence and the practice of the clinic group which handles the treatment.

The probation officer's participation is usually a skillful and thorough application of casework principles. The establishment of friendly rapport, working out the realities, interpretation to the relatives, and the encouragement of the delinquent to accept and continue treatment are invaluable. The probation officer avoids, usually, participation in the treatment of the deep intrapsychic conflicts of the individual. This applies also to the "talking out," which will often disturb relationships with the psychotherapist and perhaps temporarily allay neurotic symptoms so that the individual may no longer want to continue or even to begin psychiatric treatment. The treatment of a neurotic delinquent by a case worker trained in psychotherapy may be carried out under supervision. In staff conferences and seminars, treatment goals are worked out after full and complete reports have been collected. The simpler psychotherapeutic procedures are usually employed in consultation with the staff. To function alone, in the splendid isolation of one's profession, is not done today by any specialist. We all need help. We all need the laboratory findings and the collaboration of our colleagues and a deep

and thoughtful consideration of the responsibilities we assume when we set out to reconstruct a human being.

Psychotherapeutic treatment, on an ambulatory basis consists of a series of repeated, regular and consecutive interviews. Methods of treatment vary, from the ventilation of problems through free association to treatment by hypnosis, drugs and even electroshock. There may be as many as 50 interviews needed per person treated—often in younger offenders the number is much less. Matters brought out for discussion are the relationships to others, particularly parents or parent figures, attitudes toward people and social situations, and finally the underlying causes of the disturbance. The whole situation is fluid and moving. Often unexpected situations in the treatment will arise, but if the goals were well set at the beginning, and complications anticipated, much can be done.

The psychiatric reports and summaries must be written in clear, understandable terms, but it is not to be expected that all of the complex terminology of the profession of psychiatry will be reduced to basic English. Those who will use this service must read some of the literature in the field, must become acquainted with what can be accomplished, and be prepared to accept the terminology which has come into use. This should not be too high a price to pay.

In the institution we have a different problem, which is concerned with the utilization of the group characteristics of the intramural situation. The psychiatric team—if this is possible—must evaluate each admission and formulate treatment goals in much the same way as is done in the non-institutional setting. The report, presented to the classification committee or staff conference, must give in as simple terms as possible the genesis of the individual's problem and what the institution personnel can do to help.

In my work in institutions, I have found that it is of great importance for the professional personnel to feel themselves an integral part of the staff. They must know the reasons for the institutionalization of the offender, and realize why he is best segregated by society. They must co-operate with the custodial staff who have the dual responsibility of keeping the offender in the institution for a certain period, and of helping him to develop into an individual who can live in society in an acceptable fashion. There are many things about training schools, reformatories and penitentiaries that justify much criticism, as there are about many of our public mental hospitals. In the great majority of instances, the men and women engaged in institutional work have a seriousness and a responsibility about their efforts which compare very well with those in any non-corrective field. The restrictive regulations, the frequently rigid rules of

conduct, and of movement, the constant watchfulness are often dramatically justified when they avert a serious situation.

It is true that the fine rapport, the easy camaraderie, that is often established between the delinquent and the probation officer "on the outside" cannot be as easily attained by the psychiatric staff within the institution. This difficulty stems in part from the fact that the inmate persists in identifying "the doctors" with the custodial staff as parental figures who must inspire fear, thus tending to negate the somewhat impersonal relationship that usually pertains to the psychiatrist. This is a real challenge to the skill, the sympathy and feeling of the professional group for the institutional population. The latter can usually sense the doctor's position in the institution and will respond to a great degree if there is a truly helpful attitude. On the other hand, the psychiatrist is often called upon to lend his judgment in disciplinary problems. Here is the greatest difficulty—unless, of course, there is a most skillful board who can convey their corrective measures with a sense of fairness which is unmistakable even to the man being tried. The inmate is otherwise almost certain to associate the psychiatrist with the disciplinarian group. These difficulties in establishing rapport with the inmate are often most discouraging to the psychiatrist and lead to unconscious and conscious antagonisms on his part toward the custodial staff. The mature and cooperative psychiatrist will understand that his resentment often stems from his own frustrations.

The solution does not lie in the attempt to prove that the professional mental health group is "different" from the custodial staff. This accomplishes nothing but a lowering of the prestige of both. The inmate will not be taken in by it. The solution lies in the thorough and constant indoctrination of all the staff in these principles of psychological functioning which will make the handling of the disciplinary problems of the institution the kind that the psychiatrist believes in. This happy state of affairs can only result if the psychiatrist will take into account the very real problems in prison administration which the staff has to meet. It will also of course be the result of more careful selection of the custodial staff both as regards their motivations for seeking this career, and their willingness to learn more about their own personalities and how these influence their attitudes to those under their care. Group "therapy" must also apply to our custodial staffs.

With the offenders in institutions, psychotherapy will be both individual and in groups. The severely neurotic individual will be at a disadvantage because the psychiatrist may not have the time, or institutional regulations may make it difficult to give him the repeated interviews he needs.

The majority with less neurotic traits, who make up the bulk of our institutional population, can benefit from group therapy sessions. These are not too easy to accomplish. The therapists must be skillful, fully acquainted with prison administrative problems, and know beforehand what difficulties one must meet in the frequently rigid structure of institutional life. Many administrators have not been too well served by this approach while others, benefiting by the efforts of skilled psychiatrists, have acknowledged its value.

The principles of group work are well known to all of you. Through it the individual can learn much about himself, his abilities, his inadequacies, and his position in life in relation to others. He will find how helpful his fellows can be, and best of all he can discover these things himself. The great burdens of fear and guilt are always better borne when shared with others, and particularly with those noncritical fellows who are in one's own plight. The individual with severe conflicts is easily detected in the group, and is a subject for additional individual interviews while continuing the group therapy or resuming it when ready.

The institutional parole staff have the usual important role to play in treatment. The history they have taken, coupled with that of the presentence investigations, are indispensable in the preparation of the psychiatric report, and the formulation of the treatment. The invaluable work on a casework basis with the institutional living and vocational problems, and the preparation for the return to home and employment, entirely complement the work by the psychiatrist on the neurotic conflicts.

Group sessions of many kinds are held in institutions today. The orientation lectures, the prerelease classes, all are most helpful. The aim in psychotherapy, however, is to bring out the underlying causes of the delinquent behavior. It is not merely an intellectual approach based on inspirational principles. It is carefully planned; it is individual, or it is group work with a well selected group. It is repeated and thorough.

The record of the psychiatric observations and the progress of the inmate toward recovery from some of his neurotic problems is of considerable value to the board of parole. The especial help of the psychiatrist in the last weeks before parole is also needed, since this is a time of great strain for the inmate, as all of us so well know.

The parole officer can often use the findings of the psychiatrist in the institution in the handling of the parolee. He can assist in continuing any treatment begun in the institution. He has now some further guides as to what his parolee is like, and he can support him with the assistance of the psychiatrist in the clinic in his difficult adjustment problems.

Now what of the shortage of professional people? There are so few psychiatrists who are working on problems of delinquency and crime—so few psychiatric social workers and a handful of clinical psychologists. We now have an important tool with which to take constructive action to relieve the general shortage of professional personnel. The National Mental Health Act, which was passed by Congress in 1946, authorized the appropriation of funds for the development or expansion of training in psychiatry and the related discipline, and the payment of stipends to students. The act also provides for two other activities which will ultimately affect the mental health of the individual. Personnel and funds can be used for research not only in the more serious mental and neurological disorders, but in the every-day emotional stresses and maladjustments. Federal grants of funds can be made to the States to develop or expand services and facilities in the field of public mental health. These functions are being carried on by the National Institute of Mental Health of the U. S. Public Health Service.

During the current fiscal year, 159 training grants have been awarded to institutions for graduate training in psychiatry, clinical psychology, psychiatric social work and psychiatric nursing. These grants include 457 stipends to students in the four disciplines. In addition, forty-two medical schools have been awarded three-year grants of \$37,500 each, to develop strong programs in psychiatry so that every medical student will have a knowledge of the basic concepts of psychiatry, no matter what his field of practice may be.

The distribution of psychiatrists, as with physicians generally, early in the medical career, has been a problem. We are trying to meet this by allowing states to use their federal grants-in-aid funds for mental health, for training citizens of their own state who will return to work in the state, and possibly for the state, after completion of their training. By keeping in school or returning to school persons whose training is far advanced and who need perhaps only a year or two before meeting all their requirements for practice, we believe we shall increase significantly the available supply of professional personnel.

There cannot be enough of these in any foreseeable future, but an increase in the psychiatric personnel available to you, in either full-time or part-time consultant capacity, will be of considerable help with your problems. More orientation courses, seminars and training for the probation and parole officers in mental health will also be possible.

The training grants awarded under the National Mental Health Act to schools of social work have stimulated the expansion or initiation of the psychiatric sequence. Applications for stipends may be obtained di-

rectly from the schools receiving these grants, a list of which are available from the National Institute of Mental Health of the U. S. Public Health Service¹ or anyone of the ten public health service regional offices.² Application for stipends offered by state official agencies are made directly to the state mental health authorities, a list of whom can also be obtained by writing to the National Institute of Mental Health.

The gains that are being made in the field of psychotherapy should certainly be made available to all of you. Research is constantly going on, and valuable new knowledge will be added to that we now have. All of you can help in stimulating and actively supporting efforts in your communities to obtain adequate mental health facilities not only for diagnosis and treatment, but for positive preventive services. In the area of your particular interest, there is good reason to believe that we can utilize psychiatry to deal with the delinquent and the criminal, with increasing success.

¹National Institute of Mental Health, Public Health Service, Federal Security Agency, Washington 25, D. C.

²Regional offices are located in Boston, New York, Washington, D. C., Cleveland, Chicago, Atlanta, Kansas City, Dallas, Denver, San Francisco.

THE PSYCHIATRIC ASPECT

MENTAL HEALTH AND THE ROAD AHEAD

Esther H. de Weerd, Ph.D.

THERE is always relative safety in theorizing, advising and issuing directives from a platform to you who must face and work out—if you can—the problems society provides for you. It is so easy for us outside to imagine the finished product, the exemplary citizen you should be turning back to us. We rarely hesitate to demand that you perform miracles in whatever span of time you are allowed legally. You, on the other hand, seldom remind us of the kind of equipment, tools, and staff we provide along with the damaged human beings we no longer care to tolerate among us.

We “experts” have always been generous with our technical terminology and abstruse observations; we have been proportionately sparing with simple, concise practical statements of principles and procedures. Because of this proneness to be impressive first and practical if we happen to get a happy hunch, we have laid unnecessarily heavy burdens of interpretation and application upon your shoulders. We have overlooked the fact that you are actually overwhelmed most of the time with the details of administration, that you must accept the people we send you when you are not equipped and staffed to care properly for them and even when you have no empty beds.

Your acceptance without protest of complete responsibility for this business of rehabilitation is actually a great mistake. Just because we have hitherto said in practice, “it is all yours,” you have struggled along by yourselves and in so doing have deprived us of privileges that are rightly ours. What is even more regrettable you have also wronged those whom you have been appointed to serve.

If we could understand what you are meeting, we could do a much better job of welcoming your graduates into safe and helpful community life. Neither the theorist nor the person who must minister directly to human needs can carry this task of rehabilitation alone. Together, with family and friend, we can do a real job.

In rehabilitating the individual, you must start from where he is living in thought and deed; you must take inventory and make the most of his assets. You must help him to choose the possible acceptable sub-

stitutes for his liabilities and build as rapidly as possible toward the objectives that you and he recognize as desirable. This means that you need to understand the causes operative in the past. We outside can often spot and interpret the probabilities. In helping you, we would have greater opportunity than now to face the facts. You, in turn, would not have to resist so desperately our tendency to be satisfied when the person or thing or circumstances that is to blame has been designated.

As it is, you still have to contend too frequently with citizens who are swayed more or less by the Old Testament concept of guilt. "He who doeth (thus and so) and is caught in the act, he shall, et cetera." If many of us were honest and frank, we would have to admit that we have remained outside the walls of a corrective institution largely because we have never been "caught in the act," or at least we have never been legally apprehended. We often betray ourselves by our intensity in expressing our feelings of superiority over those who have become entangled in a web of circumstances bringing their behavior to light. We still take altogether too much pride in our cleverness in pursuing, capturing and obtaining a formal declaration of guilt. Our zeal in seeing that a just sentence is meted out to a recognized offender is often quite out of keeping with our usual attitudes and behavior.

When a fellow citizen has been removed to a correctional institution for a time, we forget so quickly. Like the hospitalized mentally ill, once he is out of sight, he is out of mind. We become concerned again only when the individual reappears in our locality, and we idly wonder how long he or she is going to last. This does not represent the kind of understanding which would create conditions favorable to his reestablishment as a happily adjusted and respected citizen.

The average citizen needs your help in learning exactly what it is you are attempting, and how you are struggling to bring it about. Otherwise, how can anyone of us continue the work you have begun? If we had reliable information and could thus acquire understanding, it would not be so easy for some of us to assume so easily that whatever you did—or do—isn't much. Our too-ready tendency to assume that we shall ultimately have to take steps to protect ourselves when your graduates return has its unfortunate effect upon our reception and acceptance.

Our ignorance of your programs also unduly handicaps members of your field staff, who must guide the individual during those first uncertain weeks or months of readjustment. Overburdened with too large a job of supervision, the average parole officer often finds it extremely difficult to pry something loose in the way of a secure job or even a bare chance to make good economically and socially in the community. Our

lack of enthusiasm and our questions as to the efficiency of your training lend a chill to our reception. It would be difficult enough for persons who have not been forcibly separated from their communities to cope with such attitudes. It is particularly hazardous for those who have been guests of the state. It is a sad commentary on our attitudes outside that while the period of forced detention was unknown to his associates the individual has enjoyed normal economic and social opportunities in keeping with his demonstrated ability.

It is high time that *you demand* a hearing of us and that you make *us* face the facts of *our* weaknesses and mistakes. Show us what we must do to carry on where you, by law, must leave off. Tell us where *our* ways of life provide the traps for stumbling feet and the incentives for questionable or dangerous conduct. You can see so much more clearly than we where traditions, not understanding based on modern knowledge of human needs, dominate our thinking.

Let's stop drifting and together set a standard of thoughtful positive procedure toward which we may direct our united energies. At present, we are wasting time and money and—still more serious—potentially useful human lives.

Emotional or mental health! What is this thing called mental health, anyway? Up to the present, most of us have been chiefly absorbed in the symptoms and treatment of the opposite extremes, the major mental disorders, the types of illness requiring more or less prolonged hospital care. Even those relatively few who have long been active in the field of mental hygiene as it applies to prevention still find it difficult to say just what we do mean by mental health. Yet if we expect you to take human beings who are more or less seriously warped intellectually and emotionally and restore them to mental health, we should at least be able to define or describe the product we desire from you.

It is only fair, however, in setting the standard, for us to give practical recognition to the fact that your opportunity to train and retrain is likely to be limited, not by the individual's need, but by statutes based on out-moded concepts of human behavior. In other words, you often have to turn over to society people who are still relatively unprepared to carry on without guidance simply because their legal stay has expired. We should also recognize that we may be asking you at times not only to restore but to bring your charge to a state of mental health he has never before possessed.

Mental health, like physical health, is more than the absence of disorder or disease. Mental health is a state of well-being best described in terms of what we consider to be desirable attitudes and way of living.

The qualities we select as significant are always those that are more or less widely approved by the majority who share our cultural standards. Obviously, the description of a mentally healthy person in a different culture would be expressed in terms of the dominant standards of that culture.

The term mental health, like delinquency, intelligence et cetera, is what the philosopher calls an abstraction. Mental health is a quality; it is intangible; it cannot be weighed or measured. It is described by each of us in terms of our personal experience and understanding of what is required to live satisfying lives. Our descriptive terms differ with our experiences. We sometimes get confused as to the essential characteristics. I recently heard a prominent speaker enumerate the undesirable traits of an offender. They happened to be symptomatic of a rather serious mental disorder. He added "lack of mental health" to the long list of traits which indicated grave need for treatment.

Since mental health is a general term used to designate a state of being, its presence can only be inferred by the observer, not observed as an entity. In assuming the degree to which it is present on the basis of what we observe, we are proceeding in a sound and scientific manner. Even the physician can do no more than infer the presence of either mental or physical illness from the various symptoms he is able to observe or learn about through questioning his patient.

Under the circumstances, we must accept the fact that evaluations of an individual's mental or emotional health by several people open the door, on occasion, to the possibility of wide differences of opinion. This is really only another way of saying that the degree to which mental health is assumed to exist in any individual is a matter of personal judgment by the observer. The accuracy of judgment is dependent upon his own emotional maturity, the character and extent of his training and practical experience, his sensitivity to the subtle signs of thought and action in others. For obvious reasons, then, we are all observers in part. No one of us is omniscient. We are also limited by our opportunities for observation and by the conditions under which we observe the individual.

These considerations indicate the value of pooling the observations of the institutional staff in planning for the treatment of the individual. In doing this, the various aspects of the individual's attitudes and behavior as understood by the staff members enter into the considerations. Inaccuracies and overemphasis are corrected or modified and the program is correspondingly strengthened.

Effective group as well as individual therapy requires flexibility in

program, a readiness on the part of every staff member to adapt procedures, switch emphasis or even to scrap some portions of the plan. Changes in conformity with individual needs are evidence of intelligent procedure and not a sign of weakness. Through staff planning the various members obtain a sense of possibilities. Where there is an inclination to rely upon stereotyped control through a rigid program, it is discouraged by the knowledge of the attitudes of others toward their job. Staff conferences are the means whereby the weaker or less experienced members can be brought along most effectively.

This procedure is psychologically sound, even with a highly trained and emotionally well organized staff. Few, if any of us, are equipped with sufficient breadth of experience, sensitivity to the nuances of feeling and behavior of others, and respect for the dignity and worth of all individuals to make anything but tentative assumptions about any human being. Our salvation lies in recognizing that assumptions are always subject to change. If we attain and keep this attitude in evaluating or judging others, we shall never handicap a fellow human being by insisting that our opinion be accepted at any cost in any matter affecting his welfare.

There are those whose training has been largely legalistic and whose security lies chiefly in their language facility in classifying and pigeon-holing their charges. To them, relatively in evaluation or judgment seems disconcerting and even confusing. They share with the inexperienced and fearful a tendency to hide their own insecurity through speedily categorizing the individual. To be able to put a rigid plan into force in accordance with the implications of the terms used then keeps them going. Their facility in the ready use of vocabulary often gives the impression of reliability of observation. Unless we know them pretty well we may not realize the habitually superficial character of their judgments.

In other words, the ability to pigeon-hole is not indicative of competency. In a laboratory working with chemical elements, the superficial observer soon demonstrates his unreliability if he fails to make fatal error previous to his discovery. When such a person deals authoritatively with human beings, he is a terrific hazard to the success of any humane and constructive program.

Apparently apt and satisfying categories have more than once stopped creative thinking and jeopardized the welfare of the unfortunate victim of the partial and inadequate observations. The categories do not have to be psychiatric or psychological terms to be disastrous. Moral and social characterizations such as oversexed, dishonest, deceptive, dumb, deceitful, whatever the descriptive term whether it be drawn from the

vernacular of the area or from a medical dictionary, the outcome may be equally unfortunate. Name-calling never solved anything. Diagnosis without treatment rarely if ever achieves more than a certain feeling of satisfaction on the part of the diagnostician and gratification on the part of those whose worst suspicions have been confirmed. Desirable changes in individual attitudes and behavior can only be brought about through action that goes beyond applying a term, no matter what the source.

What are the qualities, the signs that imply presence of mental health? There are common-sense working bases from which we may proceed to make assumptions as to the degree of mental or emotional health of an individual. (1) Enjoyment of activity and satisfaction in discharging routine duties. (2) Ability to get along reasonably well with associates. (3) Interests that are generally accepted as desirable, many of which can be pursued in such a manner as to add to the enjoyment and satisfaction of others. (4) Ability to carry one's share of the responsibilities inherent in happy group living. (5) Tolerance and helpfulness when life proves difficult for others. (6) Reasonable adaptability to change and resourcefulness in seeking help when in need of it. (7) A degree of reticence and feeling for the desires of others. (8) Willingness to live and learn and to earn leadership. (9) Recognition that the role of follower is required of everyone at times. (10) Acceptance of criticism and willingness to try to correct weakness. (11) A constant readiness to adjust to life on the basis of the fundamental requirements of a democracy. The list may not be complete but it will suggest the type of observations fundamental to a study of the individual.

Some of you must unfortunately carry on in institutions where traditions, custom and circumstance have largely required regimentation in the interest of punishing the doer of evil. The desirable attitudes and behavior which are the measure of the mentally healthy person you are to turn back to us implied above evidently require a type of training quite different from the traditionally accepted program. Too large a population for your equipment and staff inadequately prepared for their jobs mean dull, stupid, monotony, if not cruelty. Indifference, vacillation and harshness are the common defenses of the discouraged and harassed staff members. Their behavior incites active rebellion in the more intelligent, and dull resentful acceptance in those for whom circumstances have provided no weapons. Neither attitude is acceptable preparation for life upon the return of the individual to the community.

We outside will recognize the inevitable results of such a setting if you will only be frank and show us what you face. Cry out against our

indifference. Ask private agencies and influential individuals to study your program. Take their superficial comments in stride. Respectfully request that they make suggestions. Only when they try to face your problems will they begin to think. When they are receptive, use your experiences to indicate how they may cooperate with you. As rapidly as you have opportunity, make use of their talents and put a stop to the present wastage of human life—this falling of helpless people between services because no one is thinking and planning consistently in terms of the over-all picture. Only alert citizens can stop this gap, but they need your help to be reasonably effective.

It is true that society still too often measures the worth of your correctional work by the extent to which you can provide an organized existence that is as far as possible from normal living in a family home and community. Yet youth and adults, like little children, learn by doing. When they have acquired attitudes and habits that bring them into dangerous conflict with society, they must have opportunity to observe and to experience new outlooks and behavior in order to select and put into practice acceptable substitutions. Before their return to the relative freedom of the average community, they must also have opportunity to try their wings.

If they are to become gracious, generous and self-respecting, they can best learn through association with that type of person on the staff. Positive motivation takes place when the individual can visualize the objective. Direct experience is the most effective way of achieving changes. First attempts at substituting the desired for the undesirable behavior are bound to be awkward and faltering. The new habits will ultimately function smoothly if there is patient understanding on the part of those who guide and counsel in terms of the individual's particular need at the moment.

Success in your program demands individualized treatment. We often overlook this important fact because we have failed to see that delinquency, like mental health and intelligence, is also an abstract term. We outside are far from clarity and consistency in its use with reference to people and behavior. Our tendency to apply this term indiscriminately to a child or to parents or to other adults, to an act or a series of acts, is shared by your staff. It accounts, perhaps more than anything else, for the tendency of all of us to regard transgressors as patterned alike and so in need of the same kind of treatment.

When brought face to face with the facts, we really know better. A delinquent act that outwardly appears the same and to all intents and purposes has exactly the same social result, may have its source in

widely contrasting personal experiences in different individuals. On the other hand, we classify many objectively dissimilar acts as delinquent. The application of the category provides no hint of the seriousness of the act or of its cause. It supplies no point from which to start rehabilitating the individual.

Only knowledge and understanding of the character of the behavior which brought the individual to the attention of the authorities can serve as a reliable guide to his restoration. Our rehabilitative plan, if it is to be successful, must be based on what we have to work with in the particular man, woman or child.

When the individual is committed with intelligence and understanding he is adjudged in need of group therapy and it is expected that the institution will supply that need. Any phase of treatment within the institution that is predicated on the worthlessness of the individual to society or the belief that he merits punishment or the determination that he pay a penalty is destructive. The individual who revolts under such circumstances has good stuff with which to work. The one who passively submits is already almost lost.

The institution provides healing experiences through supplying the kind of human relationship that brings about the desired changes in motivation, attitudes and habits of behavior. With the right kind of staff, the individual soon learns that there are people who are friendly, co-operative, affectionate, and capable of forgetting themselves in the interest of others. As he becomes convinced, he relaxes. It is only then that he is ready to accept the principles of living generally implied in the term treatment or therapy. These common-sense considerations should be called repeatedly to our attention so that we can come to your support as you seek replacements and add to your staff. What is more, we will encourage all efforts to select young people to train for service with you.

All this brings us to a discussion of the qualities of the people upon whom we must rely to provide desirable human relationships. The superintendent is important and his or her convictions for example go a long way in affecting the spirit of the staff. But there is only one superintendent in an institution and there are many guests. The more guests, the larger the number of staff required to care for them properly. Staff members, even the best trained, are human. They possess all the potentialities for good or ill that appear in those they care for. If they were perfect, those they care for would acquire a false outlook on life as it must be lived. Being human, staff members can be teased and annoyed. They may lose patience, but they do not need to become harsh, vindictive and cruel. When they have opportunity for continuous in-service training, their

ability to carry their charges with poise is increased far beyond what might be expected from the effort expended in instructional sessions.

Ideally, staff members should be grounded in psychology applied to human relations. The person, however, who has the requisite qualities of personality is usually far more useful than one with a Ph.D. in psychology or an M.D. in medicine without these qualities. Staff members must be warm-hearted but not sentimental; level-headed, not impulsive. They must have a genuine liking for human beings and not regard the people they care for as so many inanimate objects to be pushed around or as individuals of an inferior order whom they may control arbitrarily because they happen to be in command.

These qualities of stability in human relations are extremely important. Upon the staff's own attitudes we must depend for bringing the unstable into comfortable and even happy relationships with others. The spirit with which they supervise activities, the zeal with which they seek to inspire interest, the extent to which they can induce a liking for occupations, these qualities in a leader quiet the high-strung and induce the degree of relaxation generally that results in a maximum of learning.

Alert staff members realize that activities must be geared to natural abilities. In proportion as the individual gains confidence and self-assurance, the leaders are released from having to urge or propel the individual for more important work. As initiative and courage increase, training activities may become rugged for the staff at times. The experiences, with an alert receptive group and a positive program, are far more exciting than those resulting from maintaining a rigid and relatively simple routine. The former trains competent citizens; the latter, either helpless stooges or resentful men and women who are likely to misuse their freedom when they are released.

Life in an institution would not be a realistic preparation for life in a community if it were maintained at a high level of harmony and cooperation and there were no conflicts. A certain amount of restraint and frustration are a part of normal experience outside. The manner in which the restraint is imposed is far more important in the rehabilitative program than the rules themselves. The question of *deserving* harsh treatment from associates or from members of the staff should never arise. The episode is the individual's opportunity to learn how to make the necessary adjustments to others.

There may be times when a certain amount of discipline must be imposed. The individual can take it if he feels the staff member respects him and if he believes that the action is reasonable and not vindictive. Sometimes staff members forget that one of the primary objectives of the

institutional life is to change the outlook of the individual. In the desire to maintain order and accomplish certain desirable ends, they tend to meet violence and aggressiveness with more of the same. This failure to recognize basic fears only adds to the emotional strain that must ultimately be eliminated.

The friendly interest of staff members in their charges must be genuine. Loud or numerous protestations of friendliness will not do the trick. The glances, posture, gestures, tone of voice, as well as words of the staff member testify most effectively to the regard in which the individual is held. Approval is a force when it is merited. It becomes a farce, a basis for questioning sincerity, if it is doled out when undeserved. There has never been a human being, however, who could not be commended for something. The staff member can overlook erratic behavior when the safety of the individual and others is not threatened. When there is a threat, if a staff member steps in calmly, shows no anger, exhibits no offended dignity, expresses no disgust, the individual is usually stopped, if for no other reason than because he is not accustomed to being met in this manner.

In general, the presence of cheerful, outwardly unruffled, patient, tolerant, intelligent staff members automatically induces the relaxation which is indispensable to building an emotionally healthful individual capable of satisfactory adjustment outside. Where the staff member provides for the recognition of dignity, the individual falls into line unless he is mentally sick. If that is the case he is in need of specialized care. Lecturing, pressure, reproaches are inhuman.

Let us look at the objectives again. We want you to turn out men and women who can adjust reasonably well to circumstances in accordance with the standards of their communities. We hope that you will be able to motivate them toward goals sufficiently remote so that their efforts will continue to be channeled consistently and dependably after they leave you. We expect you to teach respect for authority, not because you have that authority by virtue of the statutes of your state, but because recognition of authority is the only basis for the safe use of personal freedom. We believe that you should give them opportunity to learn how to make wise choices of friends and activities. We agree with you that the person who is the slave of fortuitous circumstances and impulse is unable to use good judgment and is not fit to be released.

How do the staff members go about instilling the qualities we desire?

First, it is important to set goals that are within the reach of the individual. His intelligence, the status of his emotional organization, his physical strength, along with the available opportunities for accomplish-

ment and the recognition of his right to try out, are important factors.

Second, the staff member teaches by example and precept how people go about facing situations and facts that confuse or make them uncertain as to next steps. Such problems are a natural part of actual life, something to be solved. Nervous breakdowns occur when these problems are no longer subject to organized thinking. We don't expect you to turn back to us people who are susceptible to nervous breakdowns. In this connection, however, perhaps you had better admonish us as to our responsibility after their return.

Third, every effort should be made to maintain the kind of atmosphere and setting that provides relaxation and so a maximum acceptance of program. Initiative and ability to carry out sustained activity are developed under confident, considerate leadership. Discouragement and failure to complete assignments are the outcome of fault-finding and petty tyranny. Force as a potent factor in education was abandoned long ago. In laboratory and school room we have demonstrated repeatedly that rats and children respectively do not learn a process by being physically propelled through a maze or arbitrarily directed step by step through a mental problem.

Fourth, the individual must be provided opportunity to try out his strengths and to put what he has learned into practice. Mistakes are inevitable and natural and to be welcomed. They present the best possible opportunity for learning what not to do, this is often as important and as vital as knowing what to do. The whimsical observations, "Well, we won't have to learn that again," "It is feeble-minded to have to learn the same thing twice," are bound to produce a relaxing chuckle when the individual picks up to go on.

Fifth, the alert staff member presents problems for consideration and so provides opportunity to weigh essentials and to determine the relative importance of events or materials. This is done through both group and individual discussions. Considerate attention to the opinions of others and the recognition of the contributions they make, all build confidence.

Sixth, every effort is made to recognize and respect the dignity and worth of the human being. Much of the most important learning takes place through incidental experience and not in the classroom. Vicarious experience, through book, radio, motion picture and word of mouth, speeds human learning far beyond the point any normal being would attain if he had to depend upon direct, personal activity to learn.

Seventh, it is obvious that the field workers must be fully in touch and in sympathy with the thinking behind the program of the institution. They must acquire considerable knowledge of the individual's experiences

and problems previous to entering the institution, his development while there, the type of preparation for his return to his community. The field worker has the task of preparing the family and community in conformity with his needs. Knowledge of the incentives and experiences that have been provided at the institution, the thinking and expectations of the responsible persons who have guided the individual until his release is most important to continuing the rehabilitative process to a point where he is reintegrated with his group. The individual's own attitudes, hopes, fears and plans at the time of release are a part of the considerations.

We who are outside and have so far shown little interest or taken little responsibility for your program need your help in order to be helpful to you. Teach us how we may serve you who have so far been serving us at such great odds. In so doing you will be providing richly for the future of those for whom we have given you responsibility. We shall be the better prepared to carry on the work you begin with such courage in the brief time you have to deal with these—our people, loved ones, our friends, our neighbors who happened to have been “caught in the act.”

THE MEDICAL ASPECT

OBSERVATIONS ON LATENT AND LATE SYPHILIS THROUGH CO-OPERATIVE STUDIES ON INMATES IN THE INSTITUTIONS OF THE NEW YORK STATE DEPARTMENT OF CORRECTION

Bernard I. Kaplan, M.D.

BEHIND the following presentation are two purposes: first, to communicate to the physicians of the Medical Correctional Association of the Congress of Correction an outline of the studies and observations on latent and late syphilis on inmates in the institutions of New York State; and, second, to propose to all members of the Congress the possibility of creating a comparable organization for study and research purposes on other medical subjects within the institutions in their jurisdiction.

Taking up the first objective, we go back ten years, when there was created at Sing Sing Prison a clinic designed to care for luetic inmates admitted to that institution. Although the project was restricted initially to Sing Sing Prison, ultimately it was broadened to include all inmates with this disease incarcerated in New York State institutions.

This presentation will deal with the course of latent and late syphilis, with particular reference to the serologic outcome as it is affected by various regimes of therapy and the duration of the disease. To date, 4,489 men and women have been incorporated into our study. All had a history of having had the infection prior to incarceration, or had symptoms, physical signs, or laboratory evidence of the disease on examination at the time of admission. In addition to an adequate evaluation of their medical history, including special attention to obtaining verification of previous diagnosis, treatment and laboratory study, all men were given a physical examination, electrocardiogram, chest x-ray, and 82 per cent had at least one examination of their spinal fluid. All serologic studies, especially as concerns the course of the quantitatively-titered complement-fixation test for syphilis, were performed in the Department of Laboratories and Research, New York State Department of Health, utilizing the technique of Wadsworth, Maltaner and Maltaner. It can be safely said that the serologic techniques have been uniform throughout the period

of the past 10 years, and that none of the changes observed can be attributed in any way to variations in serologic technique, or manner of reporting.

Observations were made on 2,484 men treated by one or more courses of the following regimes of anti-luetic therapy:

Mapharsen drip (Hyman, Chargin & Leifer).....	171
Mapharsen drip & T. V. Fever.....	89
Mapharsen and Bismuth (Eagle).....	114
Penicillin (Aqueous) & concomitant chemotherapy.....	223
Penicillin in Oil and Beeswax (Ambulatory).....	136
Routine chemotherapy (weekly regime of arsenic and bismuth in alternating and concomitant courses).....	1400

During this period we also observed men who had received treatment for early infectious syphilis prior to admission, or shortly thereafter, and were in the early latent period of their disease.

It seems safe to state at this time that *no one* of the intensive regimes of chemotherapy, or the more recent regimes of penicillin therapy, was characterized by its ability to produce a *higher incidence of seronegativity or a more rapid fall of the quantitative serologic titer*. A seronegative outcome in latency can be achieved by all of these regimes with equal frequency, but is dependent *more directly upon the duration of the disease prior to the institution of therapy rather than to its type*. To a lesser degree this applies equally well to early infectious syphilis, so that the failure to achieve either seronegativity or a desired arbitrary level following therapy is no indication by itself of a treatment failure.

Following the institution of therapy in latent syphilis, the quantitative serologic titer follows one of two patterns. Within a period of months there ensues a precipitous fall after which the increment of fall becomes ever so much more gradual, requiring years in order to make apparent further significant decline. On the other hand, others will fail to show the initial precipitous fall and will, from the onset following therapy, show only a very gradual downward trend requiring many more years before approaching seronegativity. It would seem that the important factors which operate in deciding which of these two patterns will ensue following therapy in any given instance is the duration of the disease and its invisible activity in the tissues of the host. Individuals with low titers at time of initial observation, who have had previous therapy of an inadequate, or even adequate, type, seem to predominate in the second pattern; while early latents, patients with superimposed infections, and instances of known serologic relapse, characteristically show the first type.

After instituting adequate therapy, further precipitous or accelerated

fall in the serologic titer *could not be achieved in the majority of 140 instances by additional courses of therapy by any one of the regimes indicated above*. This observation further demonstrates the control that the duration of the disease plays in deciding the serologic outcome rather than the kind or amount of therapy utilized, provided that the regime was an adequate one at the start. It may be true that, in the later years of latency, therapy, as such, can be considered to be without effect on the serologic outcome. Further observations will be necessary before making this statement absolute, but it does seem that if an individual is discovered, for example, in the 15th year of his disease, or later, and is latent at that time, therapy has nothing to add to the tissue immunity which has already acted to protect the individual.

Failure to achieve a precipitous fall in the serologic titer is not an indication for additional therapy in latent syphilis, but rather, is some assurance that the disease is not apparently active, and that the serologic course is the resultant of some obscure mechanism which requires the passage of a considerable number of years.

Because a serologic relapse may be taken as an indication of a possible recrudescence of activity, every patient with latent syphilis, regardless of the adequacy of their therapy, *should remain under periodic observation indefinitely*. If changes from the expected findings become apparent, more frequent observations should be instituted, so that an adequate appraisal can be made as early as possible and the appropriate course of treatment instituted.

Our observations have frequently demonstrated that patients with latent syphilis (even those who have not achieved seronegativity) can acquire a superimposed infection or reinfection. While we have no accurate information as to its frequency, it occurs often enough that one must be ever watchful, particularly so because such superimposed infections seem to occur without the infectious lesions characterizing the initial manifestations of early acquired syphilis. Spontaneous recrudescence of the quantitative serologic titer in latent syphilis seldom occurs after the fifth year of the disease in individuals under continuous incarceration, but we have observed marked increases in the quantitative serologic titers in patients with latent syphilis who have been returned to prison after a short period of parole. In these individuals with admitted promiscuity following their long period of incarceration, such serologic reactions in the absence of apparent cutaneous lesions have been interpreted by us as manifestations of superimposed infections. In light of the fact that one does not see such serologic reactions occurring spontaneously in individuals under constant incarceration but only in

those who have been paroled, it would seem that a superimposed infection is the only adequate explanation.

In summarizing this phase of the discussion, it can be said that, up to the present state of our knowledge, ambulatory regimes of delayed absorption preparations of penicillin offer the best mean of providing what appears to be adequate therapy, and, at the same time, avoiding the serious toxic manifestations and less serious, but inconvenient and time-consuming, procedures involving arsenic and bismuth. Syphilis cannot be expected to perform in a manner different from our accepted concepts as they pertain to other somewhat comparable infections. We do not await the disappearance of a tuberculin skin test before considering an active case of tuberculosis as cured or arrested; nor as has been set forth, do we continue to enforce bed rest in all arrested cases of tuberculosis because a small per cent may eventually relapse. Treatment in *latent* syphilis should be administered in every instance for the sole purpose of reducing the possibility of the development of late manifestations, and this can be accomplished in a *single* course of adequate therapy, which at this time we believe to be penicillin.

The second, but equally important, aim was to bring to the attention of more physicians engaged in correctional work in state or federal penitentiary systems the fact they have at their disposal an excellent population group, which offers countless opportunities for medical research in both preventive medicine and in various similar investigative problems. If each physician would develop his own preference in investigative fields, or, if not so inclined personally, make available the resources of his institution to accredited agencies, especially medical school faculties, much desirable research could be accomplished, and the over-all medical practice in our penal institutions would be materially improved.

THE MEDICAL ASPECT
PLASTIC SURGERY AS A COMPLEMENT TO
CORRECTIONAL THERAPY

(Interim Report)

John F. Pick, M.D.

ON OCTOBER of 1947, I presented a preliminary report of the results in the application of plastic surgery apropos the correction of bodily defects on the inmates of the Stateville Penitentiary in Joliet, Illinois. It was an essentially statistical-medical report covering a period of ten years, based upon 376 inmates, upon whom a total of 663 operations were performed, for a total of 556 defects of which 425 were acquired and 131 were congenital. Of those discharged after physical rehabilitation, only 1.7 per cent became recidivists. The following conclusions seemed warranted on the basis of this work.

1. A physical defect or deformity, though usually only a contributing factor, can be a dominant cause of crime.

2. The correction of bodily defects in adult inmates of a penal institution strikingly influences their conduct during incarceration. This is in accord with the principles of modern mental hygiene.

3. The removal of such physical defects makes the individual more confident of his re-entry into society.

4. The physical rehabilitation of an inmate not only establishes a psychologic benefit to his person, but has a salutary influence upon his associates and his family.

5. Where criminality has become an established habit, in all other ways resistant to rehabilitation, improvement in the appearance of an incorrigible may change the standards of his criminal practices upon release from that of a common thief to that of a specialist of a higher order. It is therefore felt that where bodily defects or gross features exist in the youthful delinquent, who all his young life is referred to as "monkey face," "one-eared Dago," "fish face," "dog ears," or "limpy," such defects be corrected and their trigger value removed before the boy delinquent becomes the man criminal.

My interest in the possibilities of plastic surgery as a therapeutic medium in correctional therapy was awakened by the response to surgical reconstruction in six patients seen and operated on at the old Joliet Penitentiary, in 1937, in the capacity of consultant. In the beginning, the idea of the application of plastic surgery to the inmates of a penal institution met with interesting and at times amusing difficulties. No one, except possibly the patients, seemed conditioned to the acceptance of such a departure from the conventional type of institutional service.

It must be made a matter of record that only through the facile comprehension, insight and even encouragement of Joseph E. Ragen, warden of the Stateville Penitentiary, was it possible to carry on this project, which, with the passing of years, seemed destined to find its place among the armamentaria of a modern penitentiary.

Though the beginnings were fraught with all the exigencies common to pioneering, the fear that we might so change the appearance of the inmates that they could pass out the front gate without being recognized was one of the foremost to reckon with. Ten years of quiet pursuit of this work seems to have removed that obstacle.

Notwithstanding, it is my sincere belief that we have just begun, just scratched the surface of a problem and are just beginning to realize the magnitude and implications of the work. It is an old adage in science that anything new takes twenty years to become integrated into our methods of thinking. The next ten years may help to clarify much which is still unknown in this work, not only as concerns the project here presented, but as concerns the application of plastic surgery to human behavior in general.

There is rather general agreement among those charged with the study, evaluation and guidance of human behavior, that physical appearance has something to do with an individual's behavior. In particular cases it apparently has much to do with individual behavior. Those of us charged with the correction of bodily defects in children must sometimes stand amazed at the obvious and often acute positive improvement in the young individual's personality following surgery.

In our correctional therapy, perspectives and values are often thwarted by logic based upon false premise. We are prone to visualize the object of our treatment in terms of the proverbial average human being. We become so prejudiced by the idea of the average individual that we lose sight of what I shall term the individual average of a person.

Personally, I would not know an average individual if I saw one, any more than I am able to distinguish between a legitimate and illegitimate child. But I do not find it difficult to recognize one whose individual average is below or above that acceptable to society and equal to the challenge of communal living.

Any individual, to be an adequately functioning social unit, must enjoy a fair degree of psychosomatic integrity. This is his total average social value based upon his spiritual, mental and physical qualities. If the spiritual is missing he is socially invalid; if the mental is lacking he is socially inadmissible; and if the physical integrity is poor, he may even be socially unacceptable. If all three are below par he may be shunned

or even excluded by society. In all of us there exists a percentage difference in all these three qualities. These differences may be plus or minus. The important thing is that the summation of their values must meet certain dictates of society and the demands of the environment. If the total falls short of an average, one is sooner or later doomed to some type of segregation or exclusion. If it exceeds an average, one may exclude or choose to exclude one's self. In the former, exclusion may mean expulsion. In the latter exclusion becomes exclusiveness. Social exclusion may lead to gastric ulcers in one individual and crime in another. Exclusiveness may lead to the monastery in one and fame in another.

As a surgeon I can only directly influence the physical, indirectly the psychological, and possibly remotely, the spiritual integrity of an individual. Ultimately, whether one be minister, psychiatrist or surgeon, one is responsible to the individual as a unit of social consequence. By the correction of that in the individual which is his special problem, one may augment the over-all average, the personality, and so his social status. Only insofar as one can augment the individual average does one realize rehabilitation in a social sense. That, it seems to me, may be the ultimate aim of correctional therapy.

The surgeon, of course, has no positive way in which to measure accurately an individual's reaction to his physical appearance, whether the latter be of a general or local nature. Nevertheless, we are fully conscious of the important influence of body disproportions or defacements on the mental well-being of the patient. Through the repeated efforts of the psychiatrist, we are made doubly aware of the relationships of physical defects, otherwise innocuous, to mental pain. Not only the psychiatrist, but also history presents us with innumerable examples of this relationship.

Louis XIV of France ordered a new fashion in footwear to hide his own misshaped feet. Louis XV made it a fashion to use all manner of cosmetics and perfumes in order that his own bodily odors, due to disease, would not be so obvious. Michelangelo, probably the greatest of painters, suffered depressions and anxiety, sometimes almost unendurable, because of a defacement suffered in a boyhood encounter.

More recently we have the example of Charles P. Steinmetz, the genius of electricity, who, for the most part, lived the life of a recluse simply because of his bodily deformity. There is the story to the effect that when Steinmetz was born and his father perceived the infant's deformity he ordered the doctor to destroy him. Only the positive refusal of the physician saved for the world a suffering genius.

If we but stop to look about us in our daily lives we can see many

instances of useful people whose mental suffering is obviously due to bodily deformities, disproportions or congenital markings. They are people who otherwise would not only enjoy personal happiness, but also contribute greatly to the general welfare. All levels of neuropsychiatric disturbance may be seen among such individuals. Many of these are referred to the plastic surgeon by the psychiatrist.

Psychiatry differentiates between the individual in whom a neurosis is the reaction to a temporary, difficult situation (a situational or defensive psychoneurosis), and one whose anxiety is basic. The former is otherwise well adjusted, but because of the obvious effect of his deformity upon his associates he finds it difficult to adapt himself to situations, even though he may have tried. The second type of individual finds it impossible to adapt himself, and he seldom tries, because he is basically maladjusted and a true psychoneurotic. The former, with proper and intelligent surgery, can be rid of his neurosis, whereas the latter will only find some other form of complaint with which to indulge his personality and plague the doctor.

As concerns the Stateville project, I should now like to offer in evidence certain visual material in substantiation of the work done, some examples of results, and finally a few unsolicited written comments upon the results of the work, by both the inmate patients and members of their families.

It is hoped that in the presentation of this material, sufficient evidence has been brought forth to warrant the conclusion that no matter what the eventual and final meaning of this work, for the present and from a practical standpoint it is evident that the results of the application of plastic surgery to the behavior problems in approximately 500 inmates of a state penal institution have a salutary effect not only upon the behavior of the patient while in the institution, but upon the family who is an important part of correctional therapy. We are now making a complete sociological inventory of all cases handled in the past twelve years.

Further than that, I might relate certain private experiences which might be admitted as further proof that the work has positive direction.

For instance, an individual who had been incarcerated for many years and blamed his downfall upon a congenital deformity, came to my office for the second time in six years to prove that he was a good citizen. The first time he came was three months after his release from the institution. He dropped a gun on my desk with the remark that even though he had had it in his possession since his release, he had no urge to use it, but preferred to go straight because "people don't make me mad any more by picking on me." Having had the gun so long without any temptation

to use it, he felt that he would have no need for it in the future. The second and last time he appeared at my office was only about two months ago to tell me that he had since been married, has two children, a small home and a little business of his own. This in retrospect made him wonder why someone had not fixed his deformity when he was a boy so he could have avoided the embarrassments and punishment in his early life.

The second case is one where the mother came to thank me for the obvious results accomplished in the case of her son who was born with bilateral webbing of the hands. The family could never afford to have the boy operated upon. She was happy because her son, after paying his debt to society and leaving the institution, had gone into the ministry so he could be of better service to his fellow men.

A third is the sister of a young man who, after release from prison, has become so changed and socially integrated, that the family only after seven years of observation of the boy's constant improvement, had become convinced that it was permanent and therefore wished to express their gratitude. Such unsolicited expressions of gratitude mark the progress of this work repeatedly.

One of the newer and interesting consequences of this work has been the expressed desire on the part of certain inmates with gross facial derangements, to stay in the institution even though their terms are up, until such a time as their physical inequalities have been completely eradicated. They seem so anxious to avoid former embarrassments in connection with their appearance that they are willing to spend another six months, a year, or more in the penitentiary to get the benefit of the service.

In conclusion may I confess that this is a bigger project than one individual can pursue adequately. Surgical reconstruction or rehabilitation of the human form is a protracted process which takes time as well as effort and a great deal of patience on both the part of the victim, the authorities, as well as the surgeon. The life span of the individual being what it is, it is hardly a project that can be brought to any final conclusion in one lifetime. It would be much more agreeable if such work were placed on a recognized, well organized and integrated basis. In more than a dozen years of observation, I am led to believe that in a certain percentage of cases, surgery is a positive approach to social rehabilitation. For such cases other forms of therapy can be but substitutes. Obvious physical deformities might better be corrected and the individual rehabilitated early in life before the sad consequences of such a deformity become manifest in terms of criminal behavior.

THE MEDICAL ASPECT

WHAT MAKES A DRUG ADDICT?

Kenneth W. Chapman, M.D.

DRUG addiction, for the purpose of this discussion, will be limited to the drugs either under the control of, or proscribed by, federal law. The Harrison Narcotic Act of 1914 set up controls of cocaine, opium, its derivatives, and its synthetic equivalents. Other laws control hemp, the precursor of marihuana, as well as peyote and mescal which are derived from certain cacti. The use and abuse of other habit-forming compounds such as the barbiturates are not covered by as rigid federal regulation.

By definition, a drug addict is a person who has developed a tolerance to gradually increasing doses of a narcotic drug; who has achieved psychic dependence or habituation; and who, after a period of continual use of the drug, demonstrates certain well defined physical signs and symptoms when subjected to abrupt abstinence.

In considering the factors involved in the process of becoming a drug addict, it is necessary to consider the body as a whole, with all of the connotations that the word psychosomatic has come to convey. In order to procure addiction, a drug must be used intensively in increasing amounts for a period of four to six weeks. However, certain cases have been recorded where mild signs of withdrawal occurred after less frequent administrations over shorter periods of time.

Narcotic drugs act in some yet unknown fashion on the nervous system of the organism. ⁽¹⁾ Both superficial and deep sensation are dulled and can be measured by pain-threshold technics. There is a demonstrable physio-chemical alteration in drugged nervous tissue which is apparently reversible. Some residua may exist, however, in order to explain the increased tolerance to relatively large single doses in post addict experiments. The action of the drug may be in its effect on the acetylcholine-cholinesterase system or in other physical-chemical interchanges within the peripheral nerve structures or at higher centers within the spinal cord or brain. ⁽²⁾ Further evidence of alteration of physiological mechanisms can be demonstrated during the withdrawal illness. Imbalance within the autonomic nervous system is manifested by alteration of the blood pressure, body temperature, respiration, accompanied by sweating,

running of the nose and eyes, dilation of the pupils, nausea and vomiting. Restoration of the drug alleviates these conditions. There are many individual variations to the reaction of the drugs. ⁽⁸⁾ Different requirements for increasing dosage as well as variations in response to the withdrawal of the drug indicate other factors which will be discussed later.

The initial dose of a narcotic drug frequently causes nausea and vomiting unless it is used to combat severe pain. This is true of the thrill seeker as well as the normal individual. The addict, though he reacts to the unpleasant side effects, says that he felt something which counterbalanced the nausea, which made him go back for more.

Some people who are administered drugs for extended periods for physical illness become addicted, while others do not. In the great majority of cases, they can be withdrawn skillfully without appreciable difficulty or the continuing desire to use the drug again. Those who do experience difficulty attribute the weakness to "getting back on their feet." Some few find out what was causing this superimposed illness and seek to prevent it with more drugs. In our experience at Lexington, this has not been a rare occurrence. The remarkable thing is that these potential addicts recognize in the drug a means of satisfying something beyond the pain of their original illness. It is felt by most authorities that very few people become really addicted through accidental medical administration of drugs. ⁽⁴⁾ Any that do become addicted and have normal personalities rarely relapse to drugs once they find out their true condition. The potential addict is essentially an emotionally unstable and inadequate individual. Many normal people who have experienced experimental injections of morphine will admit to certain pleasant sensations; a certain physical comfort. However, they are aware through some intuitive tocsin of the inherent dangers. They seem to recognize it as something incompatible with their way of life.

Emphasis has been placed on the part that stress and tension play in the psychic makeup of the addict. ⁽⁵⁾ ⁽¹⁰⁾ The causes of tension are many and varied. The degree of tension each of us will possess will depend upon our emotional makeup, inner anxieties and ability to adapt to stress. The process of adaptation has received much comment of late. Selye ⁽¹¹⁾ and others have discussed the physiological aspects of this process.

Psychologically, adaptation is of equal significance. The infant from birth is subject to stress. Not the least of these is the trauma of birth. Later the lack of satisfaction of body needs for food and warmth and security produce definite evidence of anxiety. The degree and quality of the satisfaction influences the emotional development of the child.

The child, his anxiety, and the means of satisfaction are fused at first. Later they become differentiated into a "me and thee" relationship. The need for "thee" to satisfy "me" brings about early stresses and anxieties. As the child learns that the world and he each has its own boundaries, his personality begins to expand. If, during this formative period, he does not receive the proper attention, interest in his welfare, and love, he finds it difficult to make an adjustment. The manner in which he makes his adaptation to any abnormal stress will color his future life. Development may result in an extremely dependent individual, or a hostile, lonesome person who cannot attach any feeling to others. Both types are so concerned with and apply so much of their inner emotional energy to the handling of their own anxieties that they have little left for external relationships. These are examples of pure types which do not exist. As many variants occur as there are people.

In order to handle this stress or tension, we have each developed our own adaptative patterns of behavior. Emotionally, each of us every day has to face the stress of frustration, of failure of agreement, or lack of understanding of our mode of thinking. We learn to adapt to this to a greater or less degree depending upon our emotional equipment and security. For example, a man who adapts well to the restricted situation in a small field office where the contacts are few, may fail to adapt when brought into the home office where the variables of social intercourse are infinitely increased. He can make emotional sacrifices to adapt by internalizing his anxiety and centering it unconsciously on some organ, easily subject to such, with ulcers of the stomach or coronary vessel constriction as a result. Less easily understood, though commonly known and recognized as having emotional components, are migraine headaches and some forms of high blood pressure. These are socially acceptable reactions which relieve emotional tension through unconscious mechanisms.

Our subject can rationalize his poor adjustment also through a pathological mode of adaptation and blame his inadequacies on others. He is projecting. Another man may repress his anger due to frustration at the office only to come home and magnify some trivial behavior of his youngster with the explosive reaction of the terrible tempered Mr. Bang. He has displaced his anger.

These anxieties are the result of the interaction of the desire for satisfaction of the ego at the expense of repressing certain socially unacceptable inner impulses as, for example, aggression. All of us have anxieties. Many are not specifically felt but are ever present in our unconscious minds. Any stresses from within or without which disturb this ego balance produce discomfort.

We have defenses against these anxieties. I have mentioned a few of them such as repression, projection and displacement. There are many more. Some of these defenses are pathological in the sense that they require an investment of more than a normal amount of emotional energy. However, they may operate sufficiently well to establish an ego equilibrium which, if not subjected to heavy demands, will remain more or less quiescent. Some individuals have so much energy invested in these controls or are operating with so few of these defenses that they express their impulses in forms socially unacceptable.

The hostility of the so-called psychopath is so overpowering that he must literally "do something about it or bust." The things that he does are often disastrous to society. This may relieve his tension temporarily but never assuages his fundamental anxiety. In our experience such a person is easy prey for drugs. Drugs relieve his tension and in some manner fill the void of sufficient defenses. If we can assume that hostility to society is the expanded hostility of the child towards the hated parent, it is not difficult to understand that partaking of the forbidden drug is to him a symbol of victory. He frequently thinks of drug addiction as "look what you did to me," but the reverse of the coin is "look what I am doing to you."

Some people, in expressing hostility, do so at the expense of strong feelings of guilt following their actions. This hostility-guilt pattern may be manifested in subtle and symbolic forms. Mention has been made of the role of using drugs as a means of expressing hostility. Simmel (⁶) and Wickler (¹) suggest that in the withdrawal period, a certain amount of guilt is assuaged by the discomfort attendant to the illness.

In others the expression of hostility may take on a more diffuse pattern of unconscious mechanisms. These personalities are often recognized as masochistic. They seem to derive pleasure in causing infliction on themselves of psychological and at times physical pain. Masochistic behavior in our experience is not infrequent in the severely neurotic drug addicts.

Drugs for such hostile people fulfill a long felt need. A common phrase among drug addicts is that drugs make them feel normal. They say this, no matter what their personality structure. The addict may be referring to a state of relative comfort, varying all the way from the relief of pain following a severe wound to relaxing in an easy chair after a day's work. One anti-social addict who had a gross record of all sorts of crime told me that on drugs, "I was happy to sit in my room, listen to the radio and look down on the street at the poor squares (people who do not use drugs) that didn't know how good drugs made you feel."

On record are many addicts who commit crime while addicted. This

has been interpreted by some as a cause and effect relationship. I would suggest another interpretation. It is doubtful that an addict sufficiently supplied with drugs of the opium series will commit crime. Kolb (⁵) states, "No addict who receives an adequate supply of opium and has money enough to live is converted into a liar or thief by the direct effect of the drug itself." From our observations, it seems possible that gang leaders lure their addict cohorts with drugs. It requires little imagination, after having seen an addict suffering from lack of drugs, to understand his probable willingness to commit any sort of crime in order to have his supply maintained. Reference to other drugs in relation to crime will be mentioned later.

Addicts who comprise another category are the mildly neurotic. I will not attempt to make a sharp distinction here as to diagnostic groups. I prefer to consider in this group those who have made a reasonably good adjustment to life. They have been able to afford the expenditure of some emotional energy on others. Their anxieties may be diffuse as in the milder character neurotics, or encapsulated as in the previously mentioned psychoneurotic. Take Dr. X, for example, who grew up in a nice home, the only son of an ambitious mother who forced him to go into a profession he didn't really like. Despite the emotional pathological ties so common to such parents, he made a reasonable adjustment. He was good at his profession, though deeply bound by anxieties. He handled these anxieties by obsessive overwork. This took its toll on his physical resources necessitating relief. Having observed the effects of morphine on his patients, he tried it. The result was to his liking. Not realizing the significance, he increased his doses to the unmanageable point of addiction. If he has an opportunity to re-evaluate himself and to recognize his problems, he may acquire some insight into his anxieties. His super ego may be bolstered through careful handling, making it possible for him to maintain some sort of ego balance without substituting drugs for his inadequate defenses. More profound techniques may over a long period of time result in personality reorganization and better mental health.

Another relatively common type within this group is often seen among the female addicts. She is the woman who has never made an adaptation in her role as a woman. Woman is physiologically and psychologically a dependent individual. Many times she is forced by improper emotional growth and circumstances into an independent role. This maldevelopment, fostered by her unstable parents, may have resulted in the inability to identify with woman or in an unconscious envy of the male. We see this in the maladjusted housewife who is dissatisfied with raising a family

and longs for the independent state which she is incapable of assuming. Some of these women, through one means or another, find that drugs handle their anxieties. Since such women are often subject to a thousand psychosomatic ailments, they are easily introduced to opiates during the careless handling of their illnesses. On the other hand, the various manifestations of this abnormal development in those who have the proper emotional equipment can be handled with great benefit to all, as witness the successful career woman.

More serious manifestations of these abnormal patterns are seen in the various types and degrees of "flirtatiousness" which appear in all walks of society. Prostitution is at one of these extremes. Many of these women come from a sordid existence and learn through devious means the so-called thrill of morphine. Drugs are a means of escape.

In our experience addict women fall into two sharply demarcated social groups: on the one hand for example respectable housewife, nurse or maladjusted career woman and on the other hand the daughter of the streets or her less frank sister the burlesque queen or gangster's "moll."

The alcohol addict in taking drugs merely makes a substitution—for the better or the worse I cannot say. One is socially acceptable and the other is not.

Enslavement to alcohol does not have the same physiological implication as morphine. A common origin for drug addiction among this group is at the hands of the misguided physician or friend who gives an alcoholic a dose of morphine to cure a hangover. Unfortunately, I am told, it works. The alcoholic then finds something he can take to handle his anxieties without anyone being the wiser—he thinks. Soon, however, he finds himself with another addiction and worse off than before. It is far more difficult and more expensive to obtain drugs than it is to obtain alcohol. Despite this the pre-alcoholic drug addict rarely returns to alcohol.

Each addict, whether the addiction be to the opiates or to the elatants, such as cocaine or marihuana, or to the soporifics, such as alcohol or barbiturates, seeks the drug most appropriate to his psychological needs. It would seem that one might differentiate addicts on a scale; at one end, those who use soporifics and obtain a temporary oblivion; on the other end those who seek to heighten their sensitivity as do users of marihuana, cocaine, and the like. This latter group seem to have the greatest disturbances of personality, though there are variations. These variants range from the casual user of marihuana, who is like the young person who drank spiked beer during prohibition, to the more serious users of

this weed who seek better contact with reality or to break down their inhibitions or super ego controls against immorality and crime to the detriment of society. I would suggest, on the basis of our experience with addicts who fall within this class, that many of the so-called dope fiends of the more sensational press fall within this latter group. These individuals, many who are border-line psychotic, are easy prey for drugs.

A discussion of the effects of drugs upon pre-psychotic personalities is in order. In our experience, these persons who are the so-called bums, the flophouse inmates, the nomadic workers, on careful examination present schizophrenic features and sometimes have a frank psychotic break after withdrawal from drugs. (⁷) Previous histories indicate similar breaks prior to drug addiction. These individuals seem to use drugs in an attempt to get closer to reality and to be better able to empathize.

Addicts fall into no special psychiatric groups. Work has been done by Pescor (⁸) and others to study statistically the background and other social characteristics of drug addicts. Pescor presents a composite picture with wide variations in each group of addicts studied. Such studies show that these factors are not in themselves responsible for drug addiction. Comparisons of social histories of addict law violators with non-addict prison inmates show similar backgrounds. I think we can make certain assumptions, namely, that drug addicts become such because, out of the myriad possibilities, the proper emotional and physiological factors come together to make it possible for a person who, when given the opportunity, will become addicted to drugs. Such people lack ego defenses against anxiety; they are fundamentally narcissistic individuals, often dependent and childlike in their emotional responses. Some may express their narcissism in an extremely hostile and aggressive fashion. Their sexual lives are fraught with anxiety. They frequently lose all libidinal urges on drugs and are thus able to resolve their sexual conflicts. Homosexuality with its ego disturbing relationships produces anxieties. Drugs offer a means of escape.

Wikler (¹) has suggested that drugs offer to the addict an opportunity for regression. On drugs the addict may relax and assume a more or less dependent state falsely free of external pressure and inner anxieties not dissimilar from early infancy.

Wieder and I, (⁹) after observing several thousand addicts, felt that this regression played a prominent role in those addicts who were immature and infantile; who were operating with difficulty at an adult level; and who found in drugs a temporary respite to an infantile state of psychosexual development.

In summary we may say that emotional insecurity fostered and devel-

oped by emotionally unbalanced parents weaves the usual pattern of the emotionally unstable personality of the drug addict. A person given a normal heritage, emotionally stable parents, sufficient love and understanding, freedom for a normal emotional development, will rarely become a drug addict.

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THE MEDICAL ASPECT
DISCUSSION OF DR. CHAPMAN'S PAPER:
"What Makes a Drug Addict?"

J. A. Kindwall, M.D.

THIS very interesting paper, written by a man who has broad practical experience with the problem, gives us illuminating data both of a specific and a general nature. Some of the specific observations, the result of intimate contact with the problem, are useful to keep in mind. For instance, the power of a gang leader to give or withhold the drug from his addict followers; the two sharply marked extremes of female addicts—the high respectable and the very inferior; the suggested scale of differentiation of addicts, from soporifics to cocaine; the latent schizophrenics, unmasked by withdrawal.

The other, more general and theoretical side of the paper is represented in the author's discussion of his own question, "What sort of a person is this potential addict?" He goes on to say, "He is essentially an emotionally unstable and inadequate individual." There follows, then, a discussion of the psychodynamics of such unstable and inadequate individuals, as the author has seen them and interpreted them. The author makes one statement which to me seems particularly stimulating and which deserves further elaboration. He says, "The manner in which he makes his adaptation to any abnormal stress will color his future life."

There, it seems to me, we have the key to the problem of "functional versus organic," which has so long plagued psychiatry. A fire, once started, is a self-perpetuating physico-chemical phenomenon which derives its characteristics partly from the fuel upon which it feeds, and partly from external factors such as oxygen supply, moisture, space, et cetera. Every human being partakes of the general characteristics of his species, but he has his own personal and highly individual anatomical and chemical variations and peculiarities that distinguish him, in greater or lesser degree, from his fellows. Hence no two people, whether infants or adults, will react to a similar stimulus or stress in exactly the same identical way. And this difference in reaction, be it ever so slight, will, to use the author's words, "color his future life." And by life, we must mean his next reaction, and the one after that, and so on. Each

previous reaction colors or modifies the succeeding one, so that once started, the process becomes a sort of geometrical progression, differentiating the person more and more, and giving him his distinctive personality, good or bad, adequate or inadequate. In this soil develop the various psychodynamic defenses, so well described by the author. Insofar as the defenses can be improved by psychodynamic insight, or made unnecessary by physiological improvement, the person's anxieties can be allayed and his escape (for example) into addiction can be obviated. Psychoanalytic therapy is an example of cure by insight, the shock—hormonal—and the chemo-therapies of cure by physiological means. Neither method is necessarily or preferably exclusive of the other, and their relative importance in a given case will obviously vary with the relative strength of the external and the endogenous factors.

Escape into addiction seems to be a peculiarly obstinate and difficult problem for treatment, however; perhaps because the drug or alcohol cuts the Gordian knot of our deepest tensions so quickly and completely, in such an immediate and momentarily satisfying way, that the slower, sounder, and safer escapes seem hopelessly remote and arduous by comparison. The psychodynamics, or conditioning factors, in this problem have been pretty thoroughly explored by now; I believe that the biochemical factors will some day be more fully understood and that then the treatment of these unhappy people will be much more successful.

THE MEDICAL ASPECT *WHAT MAKES AN ALCOHOLIC?*

Robert V. Seliger, M.D.

LAST year at this meeting, we reported that alcoholism—and also intoxication and drinking—constitute basic behavior problems which very often are found interwoven with major, and serious, criminal acts.

The alcoholic as medically defined has many variations. There is no one known alcoholic personality type. In many instances, however, one finds that excessive dependent drinking is symptomatic of an underlying disturbance in personality organization and in the interpersonal relationship system.

The alcoholic has not been able to adjust to other people, to past and present troubles, and to daily life monotony and requirements. Yet he, himself, usually feels, quite honestly, that it is other people and the troubles of life which are to blame for his disillusionment, unhappiness and drinking. His thinking habits are faulty. Moreover, his emotional reactions dominate him so strongly that his judgment is poor in many spheres and instances. For example, he promises or agrees to do things which are beyond his ability to complete or accomplish. And then, as a result of failure, he renews his quarrels with the environment and blames other people. But he also renews accusations against himself, for the alcoholic usually is prone to marked depressive feelings of inadequacy. He lacks self-assurance except when in a buoyant mood, and he is uncertain in regard to his role in life and in regard to the quality of inner self-reliance.

As a consequence, he frequently develops protective techniques by which he consciously or unconsciously learns to avoid responsibilities that would require long term perseverance and sacrifice on his part. Often one finds that he appears to pamper himself in many ways, and to behave like a spoiled child when criticized or thwarted or challenged.

These—and other—techniques tend to increase the difficulties and frictions in his relationships with other people, who do not understand why a grown person demands so much from the environment in the way of tolerant understanding. They get “fed up” with him and “tell him off.” But, because he usually is completely unaware of these techniques,

he fails to understand their attitude, feels hurt, with what he considers to be adequate reason, and finds new fuel to feed his inner unhappiness and sense of loneliness.

The resulting combustion frequently ends in another drinking episode. Very often it is felt that these episodes—when the individual has sobered up—add to his sense of inferiority, so that he sinks deeper into his morass. For many indiscreet acts, including psychosexual ones, occur under the influence of alcohol. While sins of omission may plague many of us, the alcoholic individual is often truly tortured by his acts of commission.

The alcoholic also may be one whose drinking is symptomatic of a minor psychoneurotic type reaction or of a major psychiatric reaction, including manic-depressive swings, schizophrenic-like episodes, epileptic equivalents, certain organic states, feeble-minded states and conditions of the total or partial psychopath type.

Some alcoholics drink because of intolerable physical pain. Others drink for the definite purpose of being free from intolerable psychic pain. And some appear to be at the end-stage of the habit of heavy social drinking, plus time, body changes, and strains or griefs of life. In nearly all instances one finds nutritional depletions as a result of drinking and inadequate diet, along with other faulty hygienic and daily life-habits.

To sum up at this point, the alcoholic of today in many instances may be mildly or seriously psychiatrically ill. His drinking is a symptom of the difficulties he experiences in his ordinary daily life and life contacts. His thinking, his emotional actions and reactions, and his habit life in general are faulty. From the physical standpoint he may have vitamin and other deficiencies and also conditions of metabolism and body chemistry which need correction and which affect and are affected by his personality make-up and way of life.

The alcoholic of today is a sick person.

Now: what makes an alcoholic?

An alcoholic is being made when one consciously or unconsciously begins to *depend* on alcohol's narcotic effects for a "pick-up," to sleep at night, to feel "good," to cope with business or domestic problems, to enjoy social gatherings, to get away from oneself, to repress inner urges of rebellion, or resentment, or of a psychosexual nature, to relieve vague but very disturbing motor restlessness, and so on.

When an individual does depend on alcohol for any of these—or similar—reasons, he is substituting fantasy for reality. Because this substitution is a subtle one, he usually is unaware of it; and his alcohol dependency increases at a fairly fast rate. He may not, however, outwardly show the

signs of this increased dependency for many years; and because of this, alcoholism can be compared in many instances to cancer. Indeed, the average alcoholic of today can be described as having cancer of the ego. However, though his is a serious problem, it is not hopeless, provided that he can be helped to want help and provided that the help can be given by competent workers.

We have now briefly summed up some factors regarding the alcoholic. But, how did the individual become dependent upon alcohol to such an extent, in contrast to social drinkers who do not become dependent upon this easily available narcotic?

From studies of many men and women, representative of nearly all social, economic, educational, professional, and geographic backgrounds, including racial and religious differences; and also representative of the broken and the unbroken home; the better and less well-known dynamic complexes or motivants; and the different psychiatric reaction types, one reaches the following conclusions or thoughts.

An alcoholic is developed by many inter-related factors, together with his biological make-up and metabolism. We do not yet understand all the complicated workings of the glands and blood-content, but it seems evident that many individuals produce more adrenalin, for example, than do others, and thus are often more than ordinarily irascible in their behavior. Sugar metabolic and other disorders, as is well known, often bring about unpleasant mood and other changes. The alcoholic individual time after time definitely appears to be loaded up with nervous tension and also on the motor side, manifested by sweating, stomach sensations and discomfort. All of these are, many times, considerably relieved by regulated doses of insulin. With this subsiding of the physical or somatic tensions, there is an accompanying calmness in thought and in emotional apperceptions. One feels that this finding, when substantiated by pharmacological research, may provide much help in treatment and also in prevention of alcoholic and other drug addictions which may be—in part—produced by faulty body chemistries.

However, equally important are the factors of ancestry, including the geographic, racial, and religious backgrounds, drinking and other life habits. We still do not understand why even third generation Mediterraneans, for example, rarely become alcoholics in spite of the American Scene and way of life. This holds true for other groups with a long tradition of wine-using and even of intoxication at festivals and other ceremonies. These groups do, however, produce narcotic addicts.

It is possible that certain highly tensed, anxiety types cannot tolerate alcohol because it increases their somatic discomfort in nausea, head-

aches, et cetera, whereas other narcotics do not; and hence through trial-and-error they seek out the least disturbing means of acquiring a temporary Nirvana.

Aside from this, the racial background plays an important role, particularly when several racial groups are represented, strains from any one of which may take ascendancy at different times. That this is an actual fact appears to be borne out by the behavior, as, for example, when a descendant of Scotch-Irish ancestry shows alternate thriftiness and expansiveness which his American English wife finds difficult to understand or adjust to. Of course identification and imitation factors are involved here, and the early environmental upbringing of example and family legend. Nevertheless, until we know more about these racial influences, and so are able better to evaluate them, they must be considered in the main as being important factors in the production of different personality types, and different psychiatric problems, including that of alcoholism.

The individual alcoholic's personality make-up also, of course, results partly from his early experiences in life—his hurts and happinesses—and from his later experiences, which may be as profoundly formative.

We must add to all this the present-day stresses of the world we live in.

We must also add that it is normal today for everyone—at times—to be aware of feelings of uncertainty, of inner insecurity, of anxiousness in general and in particular. Many have poor sleep, and buy packets of sleeping powders at drug store counters. Many have digestive difficulties and buy Tums for dessert. Many have stopped reading the daily paper because it is too full of sudden political policy change, of horror, of news of impending disaster.

But the difference between the majority of people who are reacting thus to the contemporary pressures of mankind's existence in an atomic age, and those individuals with early and advanced alcoholism—who number into the millions—is that these latter have found that their tensions were relieved by alcohol to a marked degree and so developed their addiction.

Their addiction—and susceptibility to addiction—appears to derive from a combination of factors. Outstanding among these are:

- (1) A hypersensitive nervous system with marked reaction to various chemical substances and drugs, including alcohol.

- (2) A hypersensitive emotional-thinking system which makes the individual particularly vulnerable to the ordinary onslaughts of life and to the inevitable clashes with other people.

- (3) Perhaps as a result of these two factors, histories of patients

often reveal a variety of stressful situations which the individual could not cope with at the time and which he also has not been able to assimilate; that is, their recollection unduly disturbs him and affects his later life behavior. Situations like this include family altercations, marital disharmony, employer and employee personnel problems, sexual activities and trauma, unhappy memories of childhood and adolescence, and so on.

(4) The geographical ancestry already referred to.

(5) Unknown physical, biological, metabolic, and chemical ingredients and changes.

In all cases, the so-called dynamics and the problem-clusters which the individual seeks to alleviate or escape through drinking, are so different that it is impossible to state scientifically that any one event, or combination of events, is responsible for the development of alcohol addiction.

Nevertheless, there may often be a history of an unstable early emotional life, of shallow and shifting values and goals in life, of inadequate personality disciplining, and, very often, residual effects from some severe illness or operation. One concludes, therefore, that *alcoholism must be understood in every instance as being a special problem relating to a specific individual's psychobiological endowment and functioning, and to his specific life history and to his specific life problems.*

In conclusion:

One feels, at this stage of our factual knowledge, that an alcoholic is made by a combination of (1) his ancestry; (2) early and later emotional hurts, likes, and experiences, both conscious and unconscious; (3) a physical ingredient including his neurological system and the reactions associated with his glandular make-up, blood chemistry content, biological rhythm, and his metabolism; (4) emotional and personality difficulties in his relationships with other people, and in coping with situations, and (5) a lack of, or an inadequate, basic philosophy, faith, and conviction in the essential and profound worthwhileness of life.

THE MEDICAL ASPECT
DISCUSSION OF DR. SELIGER'S PAPER
"What Makes an Alcoholic?"

J. Davis Reichard, M.D.

OVER ten years ago, at a meeting of the Southern Medical Society, Dr. J. Wilse Robinson, Jr., asked Dr. Seliger the \$64 Question that is Dr. Seliger's title today: "What changes a normal drinker into an abnormal one?" This paper does not help me much to a better understanding of this important matter.

People seem hesitant about attaching the worlds "addict," or "addiction," to discussions of the misuse of alcoholic beverages. I have no such hesitancy. After I had been trying to do some good to various kinds of people addicted to various substances or practices for some years it dawned on me that we were not defining our terms. Of course, I already know that to ask people to do this is a dangerous pursuit. That is why Socrates committed suicide, by request! If anyone wants to follow my articles from 1939 to 1947, he can trace the progress of my attack on the semantics of addiction. Finally I wound the matter up in a paper, sketched briefly at the 1946 Chicago Meeting of the American Psychiatric Association, and published in full in the journal of that Association in May, 1947. Briefly, my attempt to define addiction is: the pursuit of a practice or the use of a substance to such an extent that self-control is lost *and* harm of any kind, either to the subject or to his group, results. So far, no one has taken a crack at it; you can see that it can cover any type of addiction from morphinism to driving a car to the public peril.

Dr. Seliger's paper is almost entirely on the conversational level. The author pays fleeting respects to physiology, rather in the manner of a not-too-devout Catholic crossing himself as an act of magic to avoid bad luck. It is grounded on the unproved hypothesis, or dogma, (I prefer to use the word "heresy") that (a) addiction is a psychiatric disease, and (b) if the patient and the "right" physician talk long enough, and the right things are said, the patient *inevitably* recovers. I have never read or heard of a well-controlled demonstration of these assumptions. And when we know of psychoanalysts becoming addicts to alcohol, it makes us wonder what is wrong with the picture.

The sciences developed from philosophy. Physics thoroughly divorced itself in the 19th Century, although my first textbook on physics, about 35 years ago, bore the title "Natural Philosophy, and people are still being given degrees of Doctor of Philosophy in physics. However, these

terms have lost their semantic significance, and are merely labels—like “Malaria.”

But psychiatry has not yet broken loose from philosophy; in fact, many of our colleagues become enormously angry and disturbed over any suggestion for the need of such a divorce. One of the leaders of American psychiatry was quite frankly a Cartesian philosopher. I can give to anyone interested the reference that demonstrates this.

My hope is that some day psychiatry will become a science with a minimum of conversation—and more imagination in construction of hypotheses and hard-boiled testing and re-testing of them.

Meanwhile, we know a little about what changes a normal drinker into an addict. Some are:

(a) serious head injury; (b) operations for brain abscess or tumor; (c) early hardening of the arteries of the brain; (d) virus infections, involving the nervous system or possibly glands of internal secretion, and (e) social catastrophes for which the person has not been case-hardened; a non-career naval officer whose orders sent his best friend to his death.

Psychologically, you will generally find some sort of depression in the “addict” setting, but we have no good controls as to how many others have depressions and do not become addicted to anything.

The author condemns the substitution of phantasy for reality. I can’t agree; phantasy is often useful—and can be lots of fun if, like lots of other pleasant activities, it is under control.

The author says that alcohol is a special problem. With this I strongly disagree. A person has something seriously wrong with him; if he didn’t drink, he might do something worse. Remember the story of the wife who said that if her husband didn’t get drunk once a month he wasn’t fit to live with.

Physiologically speaking, it is possible that what changes a normal drinker to an abnormal one, an addict, is a shift in internal bodily balances, homeostasis—my suspicion is that it is a shift from sympathetic dominance to the vagus side. The action of such substances as benzedrine is just a suggestion of this. A simple study to do would be a well-controlled one of the occurrence of orthostatic hypotension among alcoholics and others.

Someone wrote (in a book entitled, “Meat”) that the most important thing about drinking was that it should be unimportant. This is probably the reason for the low incidence of addiction to alcohol among what the author calls “Mediterraneans”—and he quite correctly points out that this applies only to alcohol. Perhaps if studies could be made among Chinese, among whom opium smoking has been a way of life for cen-

turies, analogous conditions would be found. Perhaps it is like the old wise-crack of how to live to a ripe old age: select four long-lived grandparents. Maybe if you want to be saved from the misuse of alcohol, get yourself born into a family in which drinking is a matter-of-course. But this wouldn't protect you against addiction to reckless driving or to morphine.

Many studies of addiction have been vitiated by a failure to distinguish between the pre-addict situation and that found after many years. We must remember that we have various degrees of social condemnation towards different addictions. The greatest, most severe, is towards addiction to the opiates; generally by the time you get an addict to morphine under observation, he has regressed greatly; he may have been imprisoned for considerable periods, he has had to associate with the underworld to get his stuff, has probably been blackmailed. Next we can probably rate alcohol and the barbiturates, neck-and-neck.

No report on the barbiturates is on our program. Probably their bad reputation derives from the vicious synergy between them and alcohol. Lowest in the scale of social condemnation of addiction to substances are the bromides. This situation has never ceased to amaze and anger me, because the direct action of these is the most dangerous of any addictive drugs (the active bromine radicle displaces the less active chlorine one and the brain can't work without sufficient chlorine in the blood). Maybe commercial interests are so powerful that no control can be set up.

Perhaps addicts to the bromides would furnish material for a study of relatively uncomplicated addiction.

We have now a recently discovered complication of the alcohol problem, a very dangerous synergy between alcohol and carbontetrachloride, carbona. This might be considered as an occupational disease of salt-water sailors. A seaman gets into port after a long voyage, goes on a drunk, and more or less messes up his clothes. The next morning, he or his wife uses carbona to clean them. So, the one who has been doing the drinking, even if he is merely in the room where the cleaning is being done, suffers a severe destruction of kidney cells. If he can be kept alive until these are replaced, he is all right; if not, he dies of uremia.

The author's analogy of alcohol addiction to cancer (of the ego) I do not agree with; it is more like sub-clinical goitre or Addison's disease—it goes on for a long time, is generally not recognized, doesn't kill, but is an infernal nuisance.

"At long last," as to the authors conclusions; it is probably not the existence of the factors that he ennumerates, it is how a person handles them, and above all, what destroys this ability that produces addiction.

THE PERSONNEL ASPECT

CAN THE PRISON SYSTEM BE PROFESSIONALIZED? *A Panel Discussion*

I. Paul W. Tappan, Ph.D.

THE issue toward which our forum is directed is plainly one of basic significance for the future development of the correctional movement, and one that has drawn the perennial concern of the Association. The question has been raised in various guises for so many years that it would appear only reasonable to anticipate a set of answers readily at hand. Such is not precisely the case, however, and the familiar problems that we have fretted before we must now agitate again, seeking solutions that are persistently evasive.

It is easy enough, to be sure—and particularly so for one who is devoted to the goals of professional training for correctional work—to proclaim once more the easy generic conclusions: "Yes, the prison system not only should and can be professionalized. Indeed, it must, if truly effective correctional work is to be performed in our institutions." But, having paid proper lip service to our somewhat inchoate ideals, we need again to scrutinize our objectives in terms of the realities that confront us. What impedes the progress of professionalization? To what extent do we now approximate this end? How far may we prudently hope to achieve the gradual resolution of our difficulties? One would like to pursue these questions in searching detail, but it is impossible to do so here. I should like, however, in a most summary fashion, to observe with you what appear to an educator to be, first, the persisting limitations upon our fight for professionalization and, second, something of the struggle now joined within the academic arena in service of that objective.

These, then, are the obstacles we habitually encounter in the universities as we attempt to attract students to a career in correction, to help them to become better workers in the field, or to place them after training:

1. Training does not assure placement. Despite the widely proclaimed need for trained correctional workers, in most states today the student has little reason to believe that his pursuit of a specialized program in criminology and correction will result in a job. It is somewhat anomalous that in our colleges an oversupply of students take one or several courses in this area, almost none of whom enter the field, while in our prisons

we have great numbers of correctional employes, most of whom have had no formal training at all. This situation is itself related to several factors:

2. Penology attracts inadequate and ineffective personalities. Selection of workers is still today based pretty generally upon such factors as political patronage, family influence, and personal connections. Not uncommonly preference is given to individuals desiring to move into the field from some other phase of public service—such as police work—however poorly suited to the philosophy and method of effective correction. In many quarters the educated man is at a disadvantage because of attitudes rooted in the minds of administrative authorities who are suspicious of the university product, sometimes with good reason, often because of ego difficulties resulting from their own lack of training. One might comment in passing that a great need in the effort to professionalize correction is to educate and train those who are in administrative control. There can be little hope when those at the top are ignorant, apathetic, or punitive. This brings us to two interrelated and nearly universal difficulties:

3. You get what you pay for. Save for a few professional specialists in our prisons—in medicine, psychology, and education, for example, in which specifically criminological training is not required—the novice must expect to enter his career as a guard, with status and salary considerably inferior to other fields, even those requiring no specialized training. Indeed, even in New York he might do better as a policeman, a fireman, a garbage collector, a park attendant, a cab driver. He can start at a higher level and go further in the trades. The college graduate is often criticized for wanting to start at the top as an expert. College graduates are not very realistic in this matter, but it is clear that, to professionalize penology, the able and trained must start at a decent salary in a merit system where their capacities will assure opportunity for early promotion and for responsibility.

4. Penology cannot lift itself by its own bootstraps. Under the traditional policy in correction, workers start at the servile base of a long line and may creep painfully ahead through no other merit than aging. The sterile device of drawing staff from line condemns the system—whether it be in prison, police, probation or other work—to a level of professional and administrative skill at the top best no greater than the latent talents of those who were willing to start crawling from a very low bottom. Experience has shown, with some exception, that this technique brings into the positions of authority men lacking in vision, in experimentalism, in powers of leadership. Generally these administrators desire only the negative qualities of smooth institutional operation through

repressive security measures. Men of broad training and experience, of proven capacities for administration or for other specialized functions in correction, are automatically excluded. Perhaps more than anything else the plight of correction proceeds from the inevitable ineptness and inertia of officials who have never developed vision beyond the immature preoccupation with policing that had characterized their early induction into the field. Either men of trained ability must be attracted at the base and promoted rapidly, or men of relevant experience, maturity, and capacity must be brought in to the top. Ideally, both methods should be employed to procure optimum professional service. In either case emphasis should be on proved and trained ability, not seniority.

5. What does correctional training train for? Among the major problems in professionalization must be mentioned the difficulties involved in providing a useful educational foundation for this work. The abstract theory of criminology and penology has its place, of course. But mere exposure to such theory does not equip the individual to be an effective worker. Correctional operation involves a series of crafts, of methods or techniques, as well as policy. Much of academic criminology has been criticized by the practitioners—and quite properly—because of its divorcement from the realities of prison work. Where the educator is concerned only to point out how impossible and ineffectual are the administration of justice and of correction, his students may be worse, rather than better, candidates for work in the field. Training must be based, not on nihilism nor carping attack, but on constructive exploration, experience, and efforts to solve problems. It must be practical as well as theoretical, realistic as well as idealistic.

6. What sort of preparation is necessary for the correctional worker if the field is to be professionalized? Here is a source of controversy that adds confusion to the problems of enhancing the status and quality of prison work. In the face of the implacable contention from old-time penology that correction is merely repressive guard duty, the advocates of professionalization have lost persuasive effect by their dissension concerning the kind of theoretical and craft training required and the proper educational facility to provide it.

Is this a job for the professional schools of social work, as some assert, on the ground that effective correction must be based in the main upon carefully guided inter-personal relations? If this view be correct, the schools of social work have avoided like the plague their obligation to provide specialized training. Is it a task for the undergraduate college curriculum, despite the difficulties entailed in adding a specialized and concentrated correctional program to the already heavy requirements now

established for the baccalaureate degree? Salary levels for the correctional worker have encouraged the stand that no more than a B.A. can be required for entrance to prison careers. In contrast with this position, it may be maintained that for a real and long-term advancement of professional status in a field that is highly specialized, programs of graduate university training are necessary and that the positions in correctional work should be up-graded to provide services and status commensurate with the high level of preparation needed for effective rehabilitation of unadjusted offenders.

Many workers in the field contend that all this emphasis upon training is absurdly unrealistic, that society should be content with, at most, a modicum of in-service training, since so much of the craft of correction must be learned in any event after the man is on the job. Related issues are raised, whether formal academic training should be combined with institutional internship experience and, if so, how such opportunities are to be established and supervised. The content that should be provided in professionalized training for correctional work in its various forms involves numerous questions that are still largely unresolved. The programs developing in colleges, universities, and professional schools of social work have not yet jelled. We may only pray devoutly that as curricula crystallize they will not be cluttered with the sterile and repetitious irrelevancies that characterize other categories of professional education, such as teacher training.

Let us consider next the more affirmative aspect of our discussion: What developments in today's education and training offer fair promise of advancing the professionalization of correctional work? The impetus to the professionalization of prison service has come to a great extent from the Federal Bureau of Prisons, which has played an important advisory role in the development of programs at New York University, the University of Wisconsin, and other institutions. The bureau has placed a healthy emphasis upon broad social science background followed by specialized theoretical material in a series of criminological and correctional courses, together with institutional internship training, opportunities for which are being provided increasingly in ten of the federal penal correctional institutions. Some of the internees then remain in the federal prison career service. In addition to some seven courses recommended as basic requirements in undergraduate preparation, the bureau suggests fourteen advanced courses for the training in general administration and eleven for treatment-advisory services, most of these in sociology, psychology, and public administration. Somewhat differently oriented specialized training

is suggested for each of the several other areas of prison service (e.g., fiscal, engineering, agricultural, dietetic).

As we look out into the schools, a number of trends are discernible:

1. At the undergraduate level of training, a majority of colleges provide some work in theoretical criminology and delinquency. Most of these, however, have no special vocational orientation, except possibly for teaching and research. This is perhaps best illustrated at the University of Pennsylvania, where some 600 to 700 students elect the basic criminology course that is offered by Professor Thorsten Sellin. Similarly at other large state universities, such as Illinois, Michigan, and Indiana, and at most of the smaller institutions, the emphasis is upon a sociological approach to crime and the criminal. The material is largely abstract, too often perhaps moralistic and idealistic, with little relation to the realities of the correctional process.

In contrast to this, there has been a limited recent trend toward the development of undergraduate curricula in correction to train students for prison, probation, and parole work. One of the first persons to become vitally interested in practical training courses was James E. Hagerty, Walter Reckless' predecessor at Ohio State University, where a curriculum was put into operation during the 1930's. One of the strongest educational programs is in operation there now, with training both at the undergraduate and the graduate level. However, it is Professor Reckless' declared view that "there are definite limitations to the number of persons which should undertake to do graduate work in the correctional field," and most of their students are being prepared at the college level. The University of Wisconsin has recently inaugurated a four-year curriculum in correctional administration under Marshall Clinard and the late Carl Johnson. Here, as at Ohio State, internships are arranged in the students' areas of special vocational interest. A somewhat similar program has been put into operation in the University of Maryland's preprofessional crime control curriculum under Peter Lejins.

An interesting contemporary development has been the growth of programs in police science and administration in western colleges, providing in some of these a four-year major in this field. Starting apparently at the State College of Washington in Pullman during 1941, comparable curricula have grown at the Universities of California and Southern California, the Fresno and San Jose State Colleges and to a lesser extent at several other institutions. Although these programs are oriented largely toward manual skills, detection methods, and criminal investigation, some of them aim to train workers for the correctional fields through the same basic courses. A nice question of policy is raised in this harnessing

of what is preponderantly a training in crime repression with the preparation of students for a correctional service that should be more positive and rehabilitative in approach. How much danger there may be here of perpetuating an essentially negative machine-gun-penology and probation and parole services that are looked upon as largely policing techniques, it is difficult to say, but it would appear to exist in the sort of selective and training processes at work here.

2. In marked contrast to the development noted above, of undergraduate specialization and police science preparation, is the view that training for the various phases of correction should be in the professional schools of social work. There appears to be much merit in the idea that case-work and group-work skills are essential to effective rehabilitation. The great problem here is that these schools themselves have generally adopted the attitude that special training for correctional work is minor and incidental, satisfied by a few semester hours in the traditional delinquency and criminology courses, and that generic social work training capped by a certificate is the all sufficient *sine qua non* for any sort of adjustive therapy, in correction as in social agencies. The narrow parochialism of this view, together with an apparent disdain for those trained more vulgarly in criminology rather than in the orthodox creed and liturgy, has engendered a commonly incompatible relationship between the trained social worker and those correctional specialists who have not passed through the sacred rites. The largest schools of social work, even those that have developed some specialized offerings in correction, as at Ohio State, graduate but very few students into the field. Partly, of course, this results from salary scales inadequate to attract students who have gone through a two-year professional school program. Moreover, experience has shown these graduates to have considerable difficulty in achieving an orientation to the work of the correctional institution, parole, or probation.

3. Finally, there are the graduate school programs, offered generally in departments of sociology or of public administration, designed to provide advanced training in the correctional specializations, such as those at New York University and Notre Dame. These institutions believe that graduate preparation is the best method to insure an adequate coverage of specialized material founded upon a broad undergraduate social science base, that a more mature level of student is reached who will be ready upon completing his program to enter the field, that it is possible to carry on a considerably more effective selection of students according to ability and personality, and that these individuals can best advance the profes-

sionalization of correctional work and improve the salary and status levels more rapidly.

At New York University we have set up a graduate program in criminology and correction with the advice and assistance of the United States Bureau of Prisons and the National Probation and Parole Association, with some eleven courses now offered specifically in the criminological area and other related electives in psychology, government and law. It combines a vocational with a theoretical orientation, some of the courses using series of lecturers who are experienced administrators and practitioners. Specialized courses are offered by authorities in psychiatry, law, social work, and institutional administration. Internship opportunities are provided to those students who require the experience. In this respect, however, we are at a special advantage. Among the approximately seventy-five students who are working for graduate degrees in this field, a large proportion are already employed full time in the several phases of correction while they study in a part-time program at the university. A number of these students are earning good salaries in responsible positions and seek advancement as well as broadened experience through their university training. We feel that these emissaries are performing an important function in speeding the professionalization of attitudes, skills, and status in the field. The program will continue to be extended as the opportunity for service grows. It is our special aspiration that as time goes on, the university program may play a growing role in resolving the problems of professionalization that were referred to in the first part of this paper.

II. *Will C. Turnblad*

LIKE some of the rest of you, I have had my comfortable moments when I thought we had our claim pretty well staked out as a profession. I have laid before legislative and appropriation bodies what seemed to be reasonably and even devastatingly convincing proof of a professional status, and of the fairness of providing salaries commensurate with that status. But in more sober moments I wondered how much the broad assumption of professional status was rooted in an urgent need, and even in doubt, and how much was rooted in demonstrable fact.

It seems to me that there are at least three indispensable elements of a profession. For want of better expression I would call them *Skill*, *State Of Mind*, and *Momentum*.

Professions are dedicated to service to mankind—to the improvement of life as we know it and, in our American society, to the eventual well

being of the individual. Is not the measure of a profession, then, the degree to which the occupation is effective and increasingly rendering the service for which it exists? The function of the correctional process in all its applications is to assist offenders to a rational adjustment to the society in which they find themselves and in so doing to protect society.

The immediate question for us is, "do we have at least the minimum skill essential to assisting individuals to this rational adjustment to their families, their jobs, their communities, and to society in general?"

I am not unmindful of the part played by what we call "tools," but as a person engaged in the field of correctional work, I would not like us to seek an escape and fail to face up honestly to the fundamental issues of human skills. The fact is that surgeons have performed involved operations in the jungle and in arctic wastes, and the fact is we can still do an awful lot of business on a cracker box if there is present the element of human skill—plus that state of mind commonly thought of as "the will to do."

We all know persons whose skills and role in life should find them professional but whose attitudes find them unprofessional, when it comes to genuine service or progress or community need. I believe the case worker who is basically contemptuous of a client or the custodial officer of his ward, no matter how otherwise able, educated or experienced, is unprofessional in the lack of common respect for the human being—whatever his deficiencies, problems or behavior.

As to momentum or forward drive or dynamic development as an ingredient of what we call a professional, I am sure we can agree that the stay-putter, the we-know-all-the-answers-man, the why-experiment type of individual have no more right to be styled "professional" in the correctional field than in any other. In this respect he represents the antithesis of what we most need today—professional forward motion increasingly accelerated.

I venture the basic question is not whether skill and state of mind and momentum are the stuff of which the true professional is made, but rather how can these factors become a real and pervading characteristic of what could then be unhesitatingly referred to as the "profession of corrections."

I believe the principal solution to this problem lies in the recruitment of new personnel—if we succeed here we shall succeed generally. It is estimated, for example, that there are now some seven thousand probation and parole officers in this country and that we need twenty-four thousand. If you believe we shall one day achieve the difference, you will be struck by the fact that seventeen thousand men and women will join our ranks

for better or worse, not counting replacements of our present force and probable further demands for expansion.

To interest the right people in our field should not be too difficult—we are in an important and creative work—a circumstance to spark and attract the top-flight prospect. And while we are at it, there is a great need to advertise to the general public and to our lawmakers and officials that probation and parole are specialized functions and therefore call for carefully selected personnel and extensive technical know-how. Once this is understood, not only will more of the right people come to join our ranks, but the political mortality rate among good parole board members, for example, will drop as appointing authorities everywhere see the functions of probation and parole for what they really are. We must find some way to alert the public where parole board appointments and removals are concerned.

Another fact we must get over to our future probation and parole officers, and thus to our public generally, is the worthwhileness of working with the adult offender. Through our very sound emphasis on both protective and correctional work for children, we have unwittingly left the impression that it is relatively fruitless and therefore almost useless to spend time and money on the adult offender. The point is that once the truth prevails again—and it is beginning to—there will come recognition of the great need to expand the adult services so that the human and social and even economic values which the thousands of potential probationers and parolees represent, shall not be lost to the community, the family or themselves. And as we all know, it is the developing and expanding professional areas of activity that prove so alluring to the alert and promising candidates we would interest in signing up. The development and extension of service to the adult offender is a man sized, lifetime opportunity in any community and any state in the union but the practical factor of security must be reckoned within our field as elsewhere—perhaps more. If the idea prevails that probation is a benevolent luxury or obnoxious excrescence, only tenuously associated with some of our criminal and juvenile courts, few will be interested in the support of such service, much less in venturing it as a personal career. On the other hand, let the discovery be made by a substantial part of the general public that along with attorneys, juries and alienists, probation staff has an indispensable part to play in our administration of justice and that the protection of society and of the individual are far more dependent on the probation service than we have ever realized, then we will witness a demand for more and better probation operations everywhere.

I have used probation to illustrate some of my points, but in our think-

ing about professionalization of the field through sound recruitment practices I assume we have recognized the parallel where the equally important field of parole is concerned. It is certainly no less challenging and I am confident no less worthy of public recognition and needed expansion.

If probation and parole in particular and corrections in general are to take their places with law and medicine, not just in our view but in the eyes of the community where our real status is established, then these functions must be equally understood and their practitioners recognized as professional. To this end the National Probation and Parole Association, along with other organizations and agencies, will do well to place public understanding of our role and our needs among the first objectives: to acquaint our industrialists and businessmen, for example, with the meaning and the yield of a tax dollar spent on effective correctional services and to enlist the active aid of these and other community leaders in getting on with the improvement and expansion of such means for attacking the mounting problems of crime and delinquency.

We stand ready to do our share where recruitment is concerned, helping to set up merit systems of selection, adequate salary scales, plans for advancement and development on the job. We need to see that probation and parole are increasingly career services and that individual professional excellence does not necessarily spell transfer from client contact to administrative ladder-climbing for higher salaries.

It is where organization and client meet that probation and parole should be at its most professional, and where organization and public meets that it should be most understood. On both scores this points to the practitioner, the practicing probation and parole officer. To hold him in the field, in many instances, and yet guarantee his professional status and growth, requires sharp rearrangement of some of our salary schedules and promotional mechanisms. In my opinion it is specious—at best short sighted, to proclaim that the skills of probation and parole case-work practice are less valuable to the community than are administrative skills.

Nothing that has been said is intended to minimize the importance of staff development for those of us already recruited or for those who we all know will be employed and prove at the outset at least something less than professional in one way or another.

There are many ways of moving toward our objective and we shall need to use all of them.

Given an increasingly professional staffing and service at the operating case-work level we shall get substantial public support. And of all the

roads to professionalization it seems to me the broadest is that which thousands of newcomers should be taking toward the correctional field. Their arrival may well be the demonstration that "correctional services can be professionalized."

In summary:

1. Probation, institutional and parole services are absolute essentials in the administration of justice and the preservation of our democratic society. This we must know, believe and faithfully demonstrate.

2. Correctional service is no less vital to society's effort to prevent, treat or control crime than are legal and medical services.

3. Our whole personal program should be built around the practitioner who directly serves clients and not built up to or around the administrator.

4. Internecine war between probation, parole and the institution can only lead to self destruction and to the utter rejection of one of man's greatest opportunities.

III. *Reed Cozart*

THE question assigned to this panel for discussion on this final meeting day of the Seventy-ninth Annual Congress of Correction is not *how* nor *when* nor *will*, but *can* the American prison system be professionalized? It may seem odd that such a topic be discussed. Why, after so many years of these annual meetings where the leaders in penal and correctional work have read, discussed, made practical recommendations and given advice based on years of experience in the field, do we assume—and I believe it to be a correct assumption—that correctional work is not yet on a professional basis? Just a year ago a speaker on the conference program reached that conclusion after making a careful study of the question. That however, is not the question for discussion today and I will not attempt to suggest any answers. There are perhaps many answers and they would probably have some relationship to any answers that would be given today to the question, "Will correctional work become professionalized?"

Each of us has been allotted a very brief time to discuss the question. We cannot explore it very completely. We are asked to approach it independently in our own way. It is my belief that the question can be answered in the affirmative. In the fullness of time such an answer may be given. At present, however, I feel that we are somewhat in the dark concerning many aspects of the problem.

Unquestionably some notable progress has been made gradually during

the years. We have changed our concept of our work from the punitive and purely custodial approach to that of a correctional process. A few years ago we changed the name of the annual meeting, and allied agencies in the correctional field have been permitted to affiliate with the American Prison Association and participate in these annual meetings. Most of the agencies are made up of professional workers. There may be some prison administrators who do not wholeheartedly accept the participation of these professional organizations and individuals. In some quarters they are considered to be impractical and theoretical "long hairs."

Before we know the answer to our question assigned today, no doubt much research must be done. At the present time we do not know how many persons are employed on a full-time basis in the field of correctional work. So far as I know we have no statistics nor information as to the method of their selection, the amount of preparation they have had for correctional work or what training, if any, they received after their appointment. We do not know what their prospects are for continuing in the correctional field on a career basis, should they be qualified. We perhaps need to know what standards exist throughout our country as to qualifications, minimum salaries, promotions, et cetera. There must be some areas and states now where high minimum standards of selection, training and compensation are set up, but do we know where they exist? Is there any general agreement in our field as to what these standards should be? Does anyone know how difficult it would be to get such standards adopted and enforced throughout the whole field? Granted that the entire membership of the American Prison Association and that of its affiliated groups could agree on such standards, could these organizations get them adopted throughout the prison system?

Judging from past experience with these groups it will no doubt take a long time to find the answers to all these questions. In the meantime I would like to briefly suggest three points of attack on the problem, starting on the assumption that efforts begin with those now employed in the correctional field on whatever basis it may be.

In the first place, it may be possible for us to make some progress in the way of changing the viewpoints of some of those people already working in the correctional field. I refer primarily to that large group of men representing a wide range of backgrounds, varying degrees of competency as to age, education, intelligence, and interest in the work, who handle the nation's prison population day in and day out. We now call them guards, custodial officers, security officers, correctional officers, supervisory officers, et cetera. They do not attend these conferences nor hear nor read the papers presented at them. In fact, in too many cases

they attend no conferences of any kind and are seldom told much about the policies and reasons for such policies of their own institutions. For the most part they probably regard themselves as being merely guards who safely keep the men entrusted to their custody. I might add that so long as they are called guards and paid low salaries, they probably will never be any more than just that. Many of them probably do not consider themselves to be correctional workers, yet it is this group that has an opportunity to know more about the prisoners and to exert greater influences over them than any other group of workers. We know that there are many instances where, due to the strength of his character and personality, a custodial officer commands the highest esteem and respect of the prisoners under his supervision. There are perhaps many instances where just the opposite is true.

Now just what kind of in-service training program is needed to change such a group over to a correctional philosophy? In the field of law enforcement, undoubtedly the National Police Academy conducted by the FBI has improved many police officers who perhaps entered the field as nothing more than hirelings of ward politicians. These same men, after thorough training and indoctrination into the field of scientific detection and investigative work, return to their respective cities or communities with a more wholesome outlook toward their work. They become better protectors of society, and a new dignity and status have been given them. They, in turn, can help other members of their organization and thus improve the general level of the work done by their departments. It is questionable, however, whether such a centralized training program could be set up in the correctional field. The program will probably have to be carried on on a state-wide or institutional basis. Such a program, however, must be under the direction of a capable training officer with adequate rank and with all necessary training aids and equipment. Certainly all staff members should participate in and contribute to the program. In addition to instructions in the use of fire-arms, defense tactics, proper methods of shakedowns for contraband, et cetera, the custodial officer should get a complete picture of every department in the institution, its objectives and how the officers can contribute to the proper operation of the various departments. Such a training program should make use of training films, text-book materials, thought questions, guided reading, correspondence courses, a good reference library, and in many cases practical courses conducted by nearby colleges or universities. Such training should also be followed up by adequate on-the-job supervision and refresher courses. These correctional officers should be made to feel that they are serving at the grass roots of the correctional process and

that they render important contributions to the entire program. It goes without saying that this training program must have the unqualified support and the leadership of the prison administrative staff.

The second group of our workers are perhaps already trained in their respective professions and trades. I refer to the case workers, the educational personnel, the psychologist, the medical staff, the mechanical personnel, business and fiscal employees, clerical workers, farm and culinary employees, et cetera. They, too, however, must receive orientation and training in the correctional philosophy if they qualify as professional workers in that field. Sometimes their personalities or their lack of experience in prison work make them liabilities rather than assets to a correctional program. There are some who would advocate that this professional group enter the service at the entrance level of the custodial personnel, in order to gain the necessary experience of handling prisoners and an understanding of custodial problems connected with the operation of the prison. It is questionable whether this practice could be followed, but certainly the training officer should work out an orientation program including conducted tours of the institutions, lectures by those charged with policy making, demonstrations by representatives of various departments, group forums, et cetera. Such an orientation program should be followed up by refresher training courses, frequent staff conferences, et cetera. If this group is to have the confidence and cooperation of the so-called custodial group they must familiarize themselves with the problems of the latter.

The third point to be considered is: Where does the warden or prison administrator fit into this picture? How can he help to create a professional consciousness in his organization? To refresh your memories as to the part the wardens play in a personnel program I refer you to a very thorough and adequate coverage of the topic made just a year ago by Mr. Richard McGee of California and printed on pages 82 to 90, inclusive, of the 1948 Conference Proceedings. It would be well for all wardens to read that paper again. For the purposes of this discussion today I will say only what all of us already know. The tone of an institution, its atmosphere or climate, and the success of its program and objectives depend tremendously upon the leadership given by its chief executive officer. His lack of interest or leadership can kill or nullify the efforts of the best of personnel. His interest in all phases of the program, his availability for advice and encouragement, his continued presence on the job from day to day in an active way, his awareness of the needs of the various departments and his efforts to see that the needs are supplied, his willingness to confer frequently and effectively with his staff

members individually or in conference, his insistence that every individual and department carry his or its share of the work loads and responsibility, and certainly his recognition of work well done—are all essential to the successful operation of an institution. It goes without saying also that the warden must deal fairly and squarely with all personnel and all inmates. His leadership in all these aspects can stimulate wavering interest, boost morale, encourage pride and achievement—and I might add in passing—eliminate many headaches that always come to prison administrators. He must do all these things and many more if the program of his institution is administered on a professional level. He can do all these things without trying to run everything himself and interfering with the activities of the various departments. Certainly he cannot train all the personnel nor attempt to keep up with all the complexities of their jobs. He surely can let all personnel know, however, what the policies and objectives of the institutional program are and can keep them informed of the needs for such policies. He can also give all his department heads an opportunity to show initiative and to properly execute the general policies of the institution. Also it is certain that he must wholeheartedly support the personnel training program in the institution.

I consider this third point to be of extreme importance. If all employes are to become correctional workers from the lowest entrance grade to the highest professional staff member, certainly the administrator of the institution and those charged with the over-all direction and supervision of the prison system must want it to be that way and do their best to see that the system is professionalized. The top level executives must furnish the leadership.

THE PREPARATION FOR RELEASE ASPECT

THE PSYCHOLOGICAL PREPARATION OF INMATES FOR RELEASE

Norman Fenton, Ph.D.

BY psychological preparedness for release, we mean the inmate's state of mind in regard to himself as a person and his general situation in life, especially how he feels within himself, about his making a socially approved adjustment in the free world upon release from the institution. How well prepared, we should like to know, does the man feel he is in his own heart, for the change from institutional living to the more difficult and demanding problems of community life? The many difficulties in the way of knowing our own selves in such profundity are multiplied many times when we attempt to understand another person. Although modern psychology has offered methods of penetrating some of the secrets of human nature, there are still many aspects of personality, such as the appraisal of the motives and desires of inmates at pre-release in regard to social conformity, where insight may be obtained, if at all, only after the most painstaking study.

For one thing, the mind of the inmate, on the eve of his departure from prison, presents a confused mixture of attitudes. Although practically all inmates desire to be free, we must approach sympathetically the conflict within them between the hatred of being imprisoned and the liking for the sheltered life of the institution. These all too human opposing desires for the freedom outside and the security inside offer an interesting psychological study. Many persons who are not criminals might also find it not too acceptable, especially during a period when jobs are scarce, to leave a life which entailed little responsibility, and go forth to the more difficult conditions of modern competitive society—to what Franz Alexander once called "the terrifying duties of being adult."

An interesting problem in psychological preparedness for release with which we may begin our discussion is the study of institutionalization. This is the acceptance by the inmate apathetically of the satisfying, routine life of prison with a consequent loss of initiative and self-direction. In order to help in the transition from prison to the free world, we need to develop methods of overcoming institutionalization. The prospective parolee may possibly be helped in his weaning from institutional life if he understands that he retains, when he returns to society, some of the

advantages attributed to institutional living. In good release practice, he is not thrown out, as some parole violators like to recount, and left helpless in the cold, cold world. On the contrary, the parolee continues to be in most instances a ward of the state. He and his family are thereby entitled to the usual public welfare services of the community. I am omitting the discussion of private welfare agencies and their helpfulness for ex-prisoners, as their work will doubtless be covered by my colleagues on this program. After the man is released from prison, when problems arise pertaining to housing, food or family welfare, the customary community social services may be tapped on the parolee's behalf. During the pre-release preparation, discussion of these resources of the parolee may be helpful in allaying in some of the inmates their anxiety and concern over the threat of being removed suddenly from the security of the prison and driven forth to face alone and unaided the uncertainties and temptations of community living.

From a positive and more ruggedly individualistic viewpoint, the process of de-institutionalization should begin months before the man is released; in fact, psychological antidotes against institutionalization should be given at the time of reception. Later on in the man's term, agencies like honor blocks, minimum custodial facilities, forestry or road camps, or privileges like the day parole or longer furlough may offer opportunities for the inmate to break away from institutionalization and to develop personal responsibility and self-direction. Under almost any institutional auspices, the individual's initiative may be furthered just prior to release, preferably in separation centers, by providing opportunities for self-reliance. These include many minor decisions such as, for example, the selection of release clothing or shoes, and major ones in the formulation of where he shall go or what he shall do when he leaves the institution.

These are merely a few familiar suggestions. Considerable thought and study need to be devoted in the coming years to the process of de-institutionalization in order that the tapering off of institutional attitudes when inmates leave prison may be accomplished more certainly and constructively. Although we want the inmate to adjust to institutional life and to cooperate in the treatment program, at the same time we need to keep to a minimum the development of attitudes and habits of dependency and loss of initiative which lead to institutionalization.

Another desirable feature in psychological preparation for release is the *willing transition from acceptance of the authority of the prison to that of the parole bureau*. The adjustment to prison life and the acceptance of the staff of the prison as sincere persons, genuinely concerned with the welfare of the inmates, is ordinarily a difficult problem for most

men upon commitment to prison. As a rule they have spent weeks or months in confinement in the county jails where usually their treatment has done little to endear institutional life to them, or, unfortunately, to give them great respect for those charged with their care. Even in the good prison, where genuine concern over their future well being and adjustment in society is reflected in the treatment program, it may require a number of weeks or even months of incarceration before an adjustment may be made to being a prisoner in an institution. This eventual adjustment may involve feelings of comfort and security accompanied in many instances by appreciation and friendliness toward the prison staff. In the ordinary penal institution there are many circumstances, such as the attitudes of parole violators and others, sometimes even of the staff of the prison, which, to put it mildly, raise doubts in the minds of inmates with regard to the sincerity and competence of the parole officers. Our problem becomes, therefore, "How can we help inmates to transfer their belief in the interest and good will toward them of the prison staff to the officers of the parole bureau?"

From the standpoint of institutional procedures, there are practical devices that may from the time of reception do much to relieve anxiety in regard to the future treatment by the staff of the parole bureau. The reception unit in one prison system has met this problem by inviting the members of the parole board and the chief state parole officer to talk to the newly received inmates as a group and try to answer any questions they may raise, especially those which imply doubt or suspicion as to the conditions of life on parole. This should be done at pre-release, if possible, administratively.

Whether or not this program is used for acquainting the prisoner with the purposes of parole and its value to them, it is important that the pre-release class deal frankly with the inmates' fears and anxieties in regard to the alleged prejudices or authoritarian attitudes of parole officers. To relieve these anxieties is, however, no simple matter. It is tragic that enough personnel are rarely available for this individual counseling. It would be helpful to have the inmates, individually or in groups, meet their future parole officers or some other representative of the parole bureau before they leave prison. The competent caseworker may, in a short talk, help the inmates to appreciate that they must regard their parole officers as sympathetic advisors and not as cruel investigators out to find failings in them in order to return them to prison.

Some institutions are using group counseling or group therapy with seeming effectiveness as part of the pre-release instruction. These include very frank expressions of the doubts and worries of the inmates in regard

to their situation in the community, as well as advice and guidance for their lives on parole. A few prisons have introduced the psychodrama as developed by Moreno and his colleagues, to help inmates express their anxieties and develop through the expression of their own spontaneous reactions more wholesome attitudes, and thereby overcome some of their anxieties. However accomplished, the confidence of the parolee in the officer charged with his welfare in society is an important part of his preparation for release. It is obvious that success on parole is difficult enough without extra obstacles caused by unnecessary worry and anxiety over future relationships with the parole bureau. Whence arises our concern here with the smoothness of transition from institutional to release authority.

As a phase of the acceptance of the parole bureau as a sponsoring agency in the community, it is apparent that the inmate must have security in the plans prepared for him after his release. He must go reasonably willingly to the location designed. He must look forward with interest and good will to the place and type of work in which he will be employed. His future living arrangements must have his approval, not only from the standpoint of surroundings and human relationships there, but because of the opportunities for adequate leisure time interests.

These three general psychological requirements are of obvious importance in the preparation of inmates for release. But the key determinant in the *adjustment of the inmate after release are his own inner feelings about himself and his future in society*. Here we may have the crux of the problem of readiness to leave prison. The parolee, to be sure, needs good clothes and money for his immediate expenses, but it is the feelings of the man inside the suit that really determines the outcome of his privilege as a parolee.

Unfortunately, we have no accurate measures of personality comparable to height or weight in physical traits to give the paroling authority all the correct answers to this fundamental question. Nevertheless, an approximation may be achieved by the use of a number of clinical resources. First, the inmate's case history should be studied for what leads it may contain regarding his attitudes earlier and how he has seemed to respond to institutional treatment. One systematic method of use of case history material has been developed in Illinois, as the actuarial prediction of parole success. We need, however, an objective progress report on these methods, preferably by an outside research agency, before a judgment can be made as to their value. Second, accounts of the prospective releasee's behavior and personality should be solicited by the classification staff, preferably by personal interview, from the personnel

in actual daily contact with the inmate. Here is a mine of valuable information, often overlooked. Third, the sociologist, psychologist or psychiatrist may get helpful information from tests, especially the so-called projective measures, and from the personal interview. Fourth, recordings should be studied of reactions in group counseling sections such as those demonstrated by Bixby and others during the meetings of the Association. Fifth, information may possibly be obtained by the caseworker from interviewing somewhat guardedly, to be sure, visiting relatives or friends in regard to what the inmates disclose to them about their future purposes and hopes. Finally, to make adequate use of these and other data about the man, we need a pre-release staff or classification committee meeting, at which those who know most about the inmate may have an opportunity frankly and objectively to pool their knowledge of his attitudes and, figuratively speaking, put the inmate together again psychologically as a total personality under consideration for release to society.

The first question that might be raised at such a staff meeting would be: *has the inmate been able frankly and realistically to accept himself as a prison inmate?* The ability to face reality is one of the key tests of any person's capacity to adjust in society. To accept oneself for better or for worse may be recognized as a primary test of maturity. The inmate must, as Woodrow Wilson advised, "seek only to face realities and to face them without soft concealment." Yet this self-criticism, while not soft, must also not be ruthless. No greater psychic tragedy may be found in human life than the complete loss of self-esteem. The wrong kinds of prisons may drive sensitive and conscience-stricken inmates toward this personal disaster. To learn what imprisonment has done to the inmate in regard to his feelings about himself should therefore be of primary concern.

In our appraisal, we want to know whether the inmate has realistic attitudes about himself and his prison experience. On the one hand, does he accept the fact that having been in prison means that he will return to society under restrictive conditions? Does he realize why employers may need to be told of his prison background? Is he aware that newspaper publicity may have informed others of his institutional record? To many prisoners it is a shock to realize that in the free world they may be discriminated against in much the same cruel manner as are other minority groups and may suffer many similar mortifications and rejections. To counteract the threat and hurt of all this, the prospective releasee must be shown, if possible at first-hand by bringing successful parolees, if not into the reception center at least into the pre-release class, how other inmates before them have succeeded in reestablishing them-

selves in society and regaining their feelings of self-respect. This is similar to bringing into the wards for amputees, persons with similar afflictions who have overcome—through courage and persistence in learning how to use prosthetic devices—the loss of an arm or a limb. They must learn, and the successful parolees prove it can be done, to accept having been in prison as a part of themselves without suffering discouragement and failure from an overwhelming and incapacitating sense of inferiority. I am not unmindful of the many sources of inconvenience or danger in this procedure to the successful parolee and possibly also to the institution.

Acceptance of self and of the personal and social restrictions of future status in the community as an ex-prisoner, must be accomplished sensibly and realistically and without too much self-pity or resentment. This is why the programs in the best prisons or honor camps are planned and designed to help inmates rebuild their confidence and self-respect, and feel better about themselves and their life after release from prison.

A second query raised in studying the inmate as a person may be: *is the man prepared to be normally acceptable in his relations with others?* Under this heading come all the different aspects of social adjustment. Does he want to speak well and avoid the use of prison slang and vulgarity? Are his manners adequate for his station in life? Will his behavior in the place of employment be polite and considerate of those with whom he may be associated? Will he be unduly sensitive with regard to the attitudes of others toward him as an ex-prisoner and consequently withdraw from social relations? Will he be patient in regard to advancement? Is he able to use his leisure time to advantage? Will he try to make himself acceptable as a companion and a co-worker in the place where he works, a good householder at home, and a desirable person elsewhere?

Obviously, the correctional worker who raises some of these questions is thinking in terms of the effects of a good institutional treatment program. To answer these questions affirmatively, we need to introduce into the daily life of the prison effective methods of bringing about this necessary competence in social relations. Eventually, if the prison is to accomplish its purposes as a social agency, this must be done, since practically all investigators have found that good habits of work, economic responsibility, satisfactory family relationships and the wise use of leisure time are factors correlating significantly with success on parole.

The third question about the man's personality is: *does he show a willingness to accept the regulations of society and to obey them with the same good will as others who have not been in conflict with the law?* In a study at the University of California, Tolman found that adult offenders were much more likely to fail on probation if they had a

"chip-on-the-shoulder" attitude, were antagonistic toward authority, or had feelings of grievance. The professional type of criminal and others with a twisted outlook on life leave prison with some of these undesirable attitudes mentioned by Tolman, and seemingly with little intention of going straight. The staff of the prison sometimes know who these men are before they leave and expect them back. Other inmates seem genuinely desirous of getting along well on parole and want to stay out of trouble—and most of these men are also known to the institutional staff. There are many others about whose intentions toward their parole obligations the staff can only guess. Prison inmates are so adept in doing and saying what they think is expected of them that one handicap to your study of psychological readiness for parole will be their falsification of their feelings about their adjustment after release in order not to offend the interviewer. They may hide doubt and insecurity about themselves because of their unwillingness to say something that they think may disappoint the staff member who is interviewing them, or more likely because of the fear that their revelation may delay their release. Someone has said that hypocrisy is the tribute that vice pays to virtue. If so, some of our inmates pay high tribute to virtue. Whatever their purpose, these protective attitudes greatly increase our problems in trying to ascertain their psychological readiness for release. The insight which the inmate shows into his own feelings about himself and his relationships with others, coupled with his honesty and willingness to face these feelings and attitudes, are believed to be important measures of psychological preparedness for return to the free world.

The final line of inquiry for the staff to consider in regard to the inmate's personality is: *has the prisoner accepted his own responsibilities for planning his life upon release?* It is doubtful many prison inmates can be rehabilitated without their own active and understanding participation. Trusting to luck is, unfortunately, a not unusual outlook for them to have. Instead of indifferent acceptance of what is planned just to get out, the inmate must, as far as possible, understand his release program and cooperate in its planning. He must recognize his own failings and want to overcome them; because unless he is strongly desirous in his own heart of changing from previous criminal patterns to those of social conformity, his chances of adjustment are likely to be poor. He must understand his difficulties in overcoming the attitudes and habits which we call institutionalization. The prospective parolee must be prepared to accept the disappointment or let-down after the initial thrill of being free. He must understand that his friends and relatives have their own problems and after the first moments of welcome will expect him to handle

his own affairs as an adult without dependence upon them. The inmate must be mature in the acceptance of the inevitable obstacles and difficulties ahead, and forewarn himself so that when they come he will not use them as self-excuse for return to criminality. His thought and planning in regard to community life must be realistic; the prospective parolee must think in terms of hard work, small salary, a modest level of living, and many initial frustrations. For those who have grandiose ideas about their future careers, disaster will be just around the corner from the prison gate.

In brief, the parolee must accept himself as an ex-inmate and define his own ambitions within reasonable limits of accomplishment. He must be understandingly determined to choose the right way of doing things and to conform to social standards. In his heart must be the desire to master himself and his life rather than to drift on unwholesome tides toward a return to criminality. These objectives in psychological preparedness have been epitomized for us poetically by Alfred Tennyson, who said, "Self-reverence, self-knowledge, self-control. These three alone lead life to sovereign power." Obviously, society, in expecting inmates during their time in prison to achieve the desire and will power to live decently and righteously forever after, has given the warden and his staff a large psychological order to fill. In the pre-release classification meeting, where the inventory is taken, there is placed before the staff one of the most difficult problems in the field of human welfare—the recognition in prison inmates of psychological readiness for release from prison.

Let us now turn to a final consideration, a challenging one about which all of us may do something almost immediately; namely, *the part played by the attitudes of the personnel of the prison in the psychological preparedness of inmates for release*. In the ordinary hospital, the doctors and nurses usually give evidence by the way in which they go about their work of respect for their profession and belief in the adequacy of what they do. They have as a group considerable optimism toward the recovery of most of their cases. They believe in modern medical and nursing practice. In some prisons, but fortunately by no means all, we have all head members of the personnel openly, and as often as not in the presence of inmates, express doubt as to the value of what the institution is trying to do for the rehabilitation of inmates. We have all heard colleagues use harsh or contemptuous epithets in talking of the inmates. The accompanying tone of voice, gestures and facial expressions have indicated that these workers consider prison inmates to be different from other human beings, not worthy, for example, of the respect given by doctors and nurses to their hospital patients. Frankly, these officers lack faith in modern correctional treatment.

To face reality has been recommended for the inmates. The members of the American Prison Association, as the leaders in correctional work with adults, also need to face reality and to do so without soft concealment. In a prison where attitudes of indifference or contempt for the inmates exist, and where personnel openly express doubt or skepticism toward the possibilities of their successful treatment, it is clear beyond contradiction that the institution cannot be considered a professional agency. For the prisons as institutions to advance professionally there is needed, not an unjustified over-enthusiasm for their work, but a sensible optimism. For example, the difficulties in the rehabilitation of the habitual or professional criminal must be frankly recognized. We know that all major research studies agree that the recidivist is far more likely to fail on parole than the first term. Yet, to give the recidivist his due, many of them respond to a degree after treatment. They achieve better attitudes toward their prison duties and toward the staff, even though their behavior in the free community after release may still be considered problematical. In fact, one of the most difficult and painful lessons learned by the prison staff and members of the parole boards is that the seemingly outstanding institutional records of some recidivists may not necessarily imply any psychological readiness on their part for release from prison. We need, therefore, in facing reality, to begin by accepting the present limitations in our treatment programs.

On the contrary, the staff of the treatment institution is justified in having greater optimism and confidence that they may help first offenders and others who give evidence of a genuine determination to overcome the habits and attitudes which led to their imprisonment. Enough is now known in the way of treatment to lay the groundwork for the rehabilitation of persons like these, even though not enough is known to guarantee cure in any particular case.

The inmate who is trying to change, and thereby to overcome his problems, may be helped in no small measure to surmount depression and self-doubt by the evidence of the staff's belief in the effectiveness of the treatment program. From the correctional worker must emanate a sincere and contagious faith that help can be given to these more promising cases. If the inmates feel that they are accepted and respected by the staff as persons and that the staff is sincerely hopeful for and interested in their adjustment after release, then a great impetus is given to institutional treatment. If the institutional personnel who are in closest contact with the inmates during their time in prison, themselves believe in the possibility of helping prisoners, their belief may reach and affect those all-important inner feelings of the inmate about himself as a person and may

therefore be one of the most important factors making for possible rehabilitation.

In-service training has been advanced in many prison systems in the areas of orientation to prison work, custody, self-defense, and general institutional management. The need for courses designed to give personnel information regarding the psychology of the inmate and the nature, meaning and purposes of the treatment program and how they may participate in it, becomes very apparent when wrong attitudes toward the inmates and skepticism toward the prison as a rehabilitative agency are prevalent among the personnel.

I had the experience this year, as perhaps some of you have had, of trying out such a course of instruction in the areas of welfare and treatment at the California State Prison at Folsom, a maximum custody institution. The resultant changes in the attitudes of the personnel toward their work, some of them selected for this very skepticism I have mentioned, were quite encouraging, according to fairly objective reports.

When carefully selected, correctional officers and other employes of the prisons, I believe, have potentially the same interest in their work and the same good will toward their charges found among employes in hospitals, educational institutions and social service agencies. In the coming years, this reservoir of potential helpfulness for the advancement of institutional treatment for the adult offender may be recognized and directed through appropriate in-service training in the areas of welfare and treatment.

What has been said of prison workers needs to be doubly emphasized in regard to the attitudes of parole officers. Faith in the correctional program, honest and friendly acceptance of parolees as persons, and genuine interest in their welfare are fundamental requirements for good casework. Better understanding of their responsibilities and more genuine attitudes toward their parolees can best be achieved by parole officers through more careful selection of personnel and adequate in-service training after they are appointed.

In bringing together the materials presented, and by way of summary of the issues considered in this paper, may I reaffirm that psychological preparation for release from prison represents perhaps the greatest need of men leaving our institutions. This includes their readiness to accept realistically the difficulties of adjustment to society, and their sincere desire to change from the criminal pattern of their previous lives to satisfactory and acceptable habits of social living. Those inmates who respond to the treatment program of the institution must be helped to think of themselves in their own hearts as potentially wholesome and

law-abiding persons. To be psychologically well prepared for release, inmates must leave prison with an understanding of themselves as human beings and with the fortitude, determination, and good will to succeed in community life. Finally, it seems apparent that unless the staffs of correctional institutions and of parole bureaus have respect for their charges, faith in the possibilities of their rehabilitation, and have truly professional attitudes toward their work, the accomplishment of the oft-quoted high objectives of the American Prison Association may long be delayed. Till then, we shall remain disappointed and frustrated because of our failure to achieve the genuine treatment program in our institutions that we so ardently desire. In the familiar words of Shakespeare we shall continue to be, "Like one who stands upon a promontory, and spies a far-off-shore where he would tread, Wishing his foot were equal with his eye."

THE PREPARATION FOR RELEASE ASPECT SERVICE UNITS—WHAT THEY ARE AND HOW THEY FUNCTION

Edward M. Murphy

IN his 1949 Message to the Legislature, Governor Thomas E. Dewey, in recommending funds for the establishment of additional Service Units at Sing Sing and Attica Prisons, stated in part, "Service Units operated jointly by the Correction Department and the Division of Parole, were organized last year in the three State Reformatories and have already aroused national interest on the part of progressive penal and parole officials. These Units represent a new and outstanding development in the correctional system of New York State. Service Units are a realistic demonstration of how two State agencies—the Department of Correction and the Division of Parole—can work together for the purpose of planning and carrying out a coordinated plan of treatment for inmates of State correctional institutions. These Units are the first practical effort to put into practice a theory accepted for more than half a century, that preparations for parole should start the day the individual is received in a correctional institution."

What are service units and how do they function?

Before discussing service units, it is essential to clarify the setting in which these units function. For this reason may I discuss briefly the organization of New York State Correctional Institutions in relation to that of the New York State Division of Parole?

There are 16 state correctional institutions, including Attica, Auburn, Clinton, Great Meadow, Sing Sing, Wallkill, Green Haven, Elmira Reformatory, New York State Vocational Institution, Westfield State Farm Reformatory, State Prison for Women, Institution for Male Defective Delinquents, Woodbourne Institution for Defective Delinquents, Albion State Training School, Dannemora State Hospital and Matteawan State Hospital, receiving offenders sixteen years of age and over, a total institutional population of 17,000 inmates. Seven of these institutions are state prisons for adult male offenders, of which six are maximum security prisons, and one is an institution of the medium security type. There are also two institutions for male defective delinquents, two reformatories for males, three institutions for female offenders consisting of a women's

prison, a women's reformatory and an institution for the criminally insane.

All these institutions are subject to the administrative direction of the commissioner of correction, and the department of correction is responsible for the custodial care and treatment program for inmates confined.

The division of parole, created in 1930, functions as a separate unit in the executive department and is administered by a five-member board of parole. It is responsible for the administration of the division, the selection of inmates to be released on parole and for the supervision of these released prisoners during the unexpired portion of their sentences, in accordance with standards provided by the parole law, and its own rules and regulations. Although the board of parole does not have paroling jurisdiction in the three institutions for mental defective delinquents, it does provide preparole field investigations for the use of these institutions and supervises parolees released by the parole boards composed of officials of the respective institutions. As of December 31, 1948, there were 3,562 persons under the jurisdiction of the division of parole. The work of the division is carried on by 403 employees, of which 226 are parole officers and administrative personnel.

The practical application of service units to the treatment of adult offenders was undertaken in 1937, when a service unit was established at the medium security prison at Wallkill, N. Y. This institution, which had been completed during the year 1932 on the recommendation of the Commission to Investigate Prison Administration and Construction, was built without walls and designated, "an institution for training and rehabilitation," designed to carry out a program of vocational and educational training.

With the development of the institutional training program, it became apparent that the best possible institutional training program produces neither effective nor permanent results unless it is planned and executed in conjunction with an adequate parole program. Moreover, the functioning of the institutional training program soon demonstrated the need, not only for coordination of the institutional and parole functions, but the equally important need for coordination of the various training programs within the institution. While the central folder of the institution contained extensive data regarding each inmate, no effort was made to know his over-all adjustment to the institutional program, nor to provide a concerted plan of counseling and guidance. In each department of the institution there was some data on each inmate, but only that needed in the particular department. Each department functioned independently in its treatment of the inmate and there was, therefore, no planning

either to know or to meet the inmate's total needs. Inmates were at a loss to know who they should consult with regard to particular problems or questions, a situation which resulted in confusion and duplication of effort on the part of staff members. In many instances the inmate's needs for guidance and counseling went unheeded, unless the institutional routine was affected or the inmate became the subject of disciplinary action.

In July, 1936, a cooperative plan was worked out by the administrators of the department of correction and the division of parole for the establishment of an agency within the institution which would fulfill these needs. This agency, which was designated a service unit, began to function on an experimental basis during the year 1937. The early years of experimentation and trial at Wallkill Prison developed the service unit as an effective method of individual treatment and forward looking administrators in both departments have been endeavoring since to extend its application to other correctional institutions of the state.

Because the reformatories of the state deal with a young group of offenders, there has been a particularly acute need for the establishment of service units in those institutions. Through persistent demonstration of the need of the administrators of the division of parole and department of correction, it was possible to establish units at the Elmira and Bedford reformatories and the New York State Vocational Institution during the year 1948.

Each service unit is an agency established by the department of correction and the division of parole to provide and to carry out a coordinated plan of treatment for each offender, based upon his individual needs. The primary objective is to obtain the participation of the inmate in a plan of institutional treatment that will prepare him for parole, and to stimulate him, as well as his relatives and friends, to work toward the formulation of a tentative parole program, related as closely as possible to the institutional treatment program. It is a fundamental principle of the service unit plan that institutional treatment and parole supervision are one continuous process. The service unit begins to function when a person is received at the institution and continues until he is paroled. The effectiveness of a service unit is dependent upon the mutual cooperation of both the department of correction and the division of parole and requires the pooling of the resources of these two agencies including personnel, services, equipment, facilities and quarters.

The service unit is both the case working agency and the central coordinating agency of the institution. It is an administrative aid to the superintendent and assistant superintendent and is of assistance to the

custodial officers in carrying out the disciplinary phases of the institutional program. It also plays an important role in the classification of inmates.

In securing personnel to initiate the units, attention was given to the special problems of inmates and the institution involved.

The Bedford Reformatory is a correctional institution for girls sixteen years of age and over, who have been convicted of misdemeanors or felonies, or have been adjudicated as wayward minors or youthful offenders. A large number of these girls are sex offenders. A number are unmarried mothers whose children are born after they have been committed to the reformatory. A nursery for the care of these children is maintained in the institution. The girls who are confined at this institution in many instances require assistance in planning for the placement of their children, or making other community adjustments that may affect both the mother and the child.

The parole personnel of the Bedford Reformatory Service Unit includes one senior parole officer, two parole officers and two stenographers. The department of correction personnel for this unit consists of one guidance supervisor, guidance counselor and one stenographer. Each member of the parole officer staff in the service unit is a qualified social worker who is a graduate of an accredited school of social work and has had extensive case work experience in private social agencies dealing with the problems of families and children.

Girls are received at the Bedford Reformatory directly from the committing courts. Through a cooperative arrangement with the courts, a service unit parole officer is available at the time of such girls' commitment for the purpose of interpreting the institutional and parole program to the inmate and members of her family.

The service unit parole officers provide a visiting service to inmates confined at local community hospitals for maternity care. While the girl is at the reformatory, the parole officers maintain contact with members of her family and interested relatives and friends.

At the Bedford Reformatory, relatives and friends of inmates may visit them on Sundays. An arrangement has been made whereby a member of the parole officer staff is on duty to interview relatives and friends of inmates when they make Sunday visits.

With these exceptions, the services rendered by the Bedford Service Unit staff are similar to those performed at the reformatories for male offenders.

The Elmira Reformatory receives male offenders sentenced for first felony convictions, misdemeanants, youthful offenders and wayward minors between the ages of sixteen and twenty-one, transferred from the

reception center. In addition, it receives male first felony offenders between the ages of twenty-one and thirty years on direct commitment from the courts.

The parole personnel of the Elmira Reformatory Service Unit, which also serves the reception center, consists of one senior parole officer, four parole officers and five stenographers. The department of correction personnel at this unit consists of a guidance supervisor, a guidance counselor and three stenographers.

The New York State Vocational Institution at Coxsackie, N. Y., receives male offenders sixteen years of age or over, and less than nineteen years of age, who are first felony offenders, misdemeanants, or who have been adjudicated youthful offenders or wayward minors, as there are no direct court commitments to this institution. Persons are received either from the reception center or as transferrees from other institutions.

The division of parole personnel at the New York State Vocational Institution Service Unit consists of one senior parole officers, two parole officers and two stenographers. The department of correction personnel assigned to this unit consists of a guidance supervisor, a guidance counselor and two stenographers.

In selecting parole officer personnel for the Elmira Reformatory and the New York State Vocational Institution Service Units, special attention has been given to securing the services of experienced parole officers.

Service unit procedures in operation in the three reformatories are essentially uniform, but vary in some details of operation to conform with the needs, policies and procedures of the particular institution. They constitute a uniform case process designed to attain the objectives of service units in a practical and realistic manner. The five essential steps in the service unit process are those of reception, programming, case reviews and certifications to the parole board, preparole procedures and parole board appearance, and procedure subsequent to parole board appearance.

Following their reception, inmates are segregated from the general population in a section of the institution usually referred to as the reception area. During the reception period the inmates receive medical examinations, are issued clothing and bedding, and other necessary steps are taken to induct them into the institution. During this period, the service unit conducts orientation classes, holds initial interviews, and the first step in the classification process which consists of the programming of inmates is carried out.

Orientation classes are conducted by the guidance supervisor and the service unit parole officer. A group approach is used to give newly received inmates general information regarding the service unit and the

division of parole. Group discussion is encouraged, although problems that relate to individual cases are deferred and are covered in the individual initial interviews. Inmates are provided with a handbook of institutional rules and regulations published by the department of correction, and an introductory letter from the division of parole explaining the parole process. At this point the service unit personnel begin to emphasize to inmates the importance of participating in an institutional program that will prepare them for their return to the community, and the desirability of beginning to formulate tentative parole plans related as closely as possible to the program which they will follow in the institution. Inmates are counseled against seeking easy assignments, and the importance of abiding by the institutional rules and regulations is stressed. At the final session of the orientation class, the members are urged to give consideration to particular questions or problems which they may wish to discuss during their personal interviews.

Subsequent to the orientation class, personal interviews are conducted. The first interview with each inmate is held not later than seven days after the date of reception. Initial interviews, ideally, should be conducted by all key staff members of an institution for the purposes of becoming personally familiar with the inmate and his problems so that each staff member may determine how his particular department can best meet the inmate's needs. This does not, however, occur in all institutions, but is carried out so far as practicable. Staff members conducting initial interviews prepare a report covering the content of the interview which is included in the service unit chronological record.

Initial interviews are also conducted by the guidance supervisor. In his interview he discusses the vocational and educational program of the institution and places particular stress upon training programs which may interest the individual because of his experience or lack of it, as well as his educational needs.

As inmates are received in the institution they are assigned to particular parole officers. The service unit parole officer conducts an initial interview with each inmate assigned to him, and is responsible thereafter for working with that inmate throughout the period of institutional confinement. The parole officer's initial interview is an important part of the service unit process. Prior to conducting the initial interview, the parole officer studies the preclassification investigation report previously prepared by the district office parole officer, and also the reception center's studies and recommendations. In preparing for the initial interview, the parole officer begins to use the information contained in the preclassification report to obtain the inmate's participation in a discussion of his criminal, personal

and family history for the purpose of beginning a counseling process with regard to his previous conduct and behavior, and to assist him in formulating institutional and parole plans. The initial interview gives the parole officer the opportunity to establish a relationship with each of the inmates assigned to him, for the purpose of counseling them regarding their problems and formulating tentative parole plans for which they will be prepared by the contemplated program of institutional treatment. The parole officer's approach is informal and friendly, and he maintains a non-judgmental attitude in all his dealings with inmates.

In discussing the history of his criminal activities with the inmate, the parole officer seeks to determine whether the inmate freely admits participation in the offense for which he was committed, as well as the previous criminal history. The interviewer seeks to determine whether the inmate's account of his activities agrees with that contained in the preclassification investigation report. Information regarding the inmate's part in the crime and the events leading up to it, not already on record, is recorded. Information is also recorded regarding the inmate's account of the acquisition and disposition of weapons; the part played by co-defendants; leadership; gang membership and gang participation. Information is recorded regarding the inmate's current attitude toward his criminal activities and whether he rationalizes, minimizes, or endeavors to practice outright deceit regarding them. The status of any outstanding warrants and indictments is also discussed with him.

The parole officer utilizes the information contained in the preclassification investigation report to encourage the inmate's discussion of his behavior prior to commitment, generally covering the subjects of friends and associates, school progress, work habits, leisure time activities, attitude toward religious beliefs and practices, sex habits and the use of drugs or intoxicants. The origin of instability in any of these areas is determined as far as possible. The parole officer records the inmate's attitude toward these circumstances and the parole officer's part in counseling him regarding them.

In his discussion of family relationships, efforts are made to evaluate the present and past interest of parents and other relatives. Have they been able to exert any constructive influence upon the inmate's development, or has his relationship with them had the opposite effect? The parole officer records his part in counseling the inmate, and he also records any need which he feels may exist for service from a district parole office. In many instances this requires a further contact by the district office parole officer with members of the family, social agencies or other community contacts.

In considering parole plans with the inmate, the parole officer discusses with the inmate his attitude toward the reception center program and his estimate of the benefit he has derived from it. In a preliminary way, tentative parole plans that will conform as closely as possible with the contemplated institutional training and treatment program are discussed and recorded. The service unit parole officer again stresses the importance of the inmate's participation in an institutional parole program that will prepare him for parole and in the formulation, with the help of his relatives and friends in the community, of a tentative parole program that will be coordinated so far as possible with the institutional program.

The parole officer also records the specific aspects of the case that will require follow-up. He indicates the expected frequency of future interviews with the inmate and the approximate date that he plans to conduct the first of these interviews, as well as the subject or subjects to be followed up. He records the same information with regard to interviews that he plans to conduct with institutional officials or personnel, as well as a plan for interviewing the inmate's parents and other relatives when they visit the inmate at the institution.

The parole officer's initial interview is recorded under headings uniform with those contained in the preclassification report, namely: legal history, personal history and family situation, parole plans and follow-up.

The first step in the classification process, which is usually referred to as "programming," occurs before the inmate leaves reception. The classification of reformatory inmates is carried on by staff members usually called the classification or program committee. The membership of this committee varies slightly in different institutions. It generally consists of the superintendent, assistant superintendent, director of education, chaplain, physician, psychiatrist or psychologist, guidance supervisor and parole officer. It is the primary function of this committee to analyze the problems presented by each inmate and to assign the inmate to an institutional program that will meet those problems effectively. Secondly, it is the function of this committee to determine when each inmate will be eligible to appear before the parole board for consideration for parole. In carrying out its function of program assignment, this committee uses the service unit record containing all of the initial entries, also the social and legal history of the inmate contained in the preclassification report, the medical, psychiatric and psychological examinations, together with the educational, vocational, religious and recreational studies conducted at the reception center. The members of the classification or program committee discuss the selection of an institutional training program with each inmate,

The assignment which is made usually consists of a vocational and educational training program and group or recreational activities, but may also include provisions for medical attention, corrective exercises, family or community adjustments or anything which needs to be accomplished as part of the inmate's institutional adjustment and preparation for parole. In some instances, the inmate's assignment to a maintenance detail is required, either because there is no opening in a particular program at that time or because the needs of the institution must be immediately met.

After the reception process is completed and each inmate has been assigned to an institutional program, it is the responsibility of the service unit to record his progress and conduct in that program for the purposes of providing him, during his interviews, with guidance and counseling regarding his adjustment to the program, and having available to the classification board or program committee detailed information regarding his adjustment. This information is used in determining when a particular inmate will be eligible to appear before the parole board for release consideration.

Program follow-up is one of the important functions of the service unit and is generally carried out in two ways. The first of these is through an arrangement whereby formal progress reports are submitted to the service unit at regular intervals. The progress report is usually initiated by the teacher or instructor and edited by the director of education. It provides a brief and succinct evaluation of the inmate's adjustment in the educational, recreational or vocational training program up to the date of its submission.

The second method is the special follow-up contact made by members of the service unit staff with members of the institutional staff regarding the inmate. This is a contact which usually has been previously planned for some specific purpose. Both types of follow-up are controlled by a date control file, the operation of which is the responsibility of a specified member of the service unit staff. Through the use of this control, service unit follow-up is carried on automatically. Subsequent to the inclusion of progress reports in the service unit chronological record, follow-up interviews are conducted by members of the service unit staff for counseling purposes. In conducting these interviews an effort is made to give inmate's recognition for unusually good progress and conduct and to make adjustments where the inmate's progress and conduct has not been satisfactory.

Progress reports are submitted at intervals by the institutional chaplains

at the discretion of the individual staff member but are not expected at regular intervals.

The institutional physician provides the service unit with reports covering the progress of medical treatment, either recommended by the reception center or initiated at the time of reception in the reformatory. This information is particularly helpful in parole planning because there are many instances where the decision to continue a vocational training program in a given field and to make efforts at occupational placement in that field prior to the period of parole supervision, will be contingent upon the physician's estimate of the inmate's physical ability or the correction of physical disabilities through medical or surgical treatment.

All interviews with the relatives of inmates by members of the institutional staff are recorded in the service unit record. Parole officers have given special attention to interviews with the parents and other relatives of inmates who visit the institution. These interviews are conducted for the purposes of having the relatives do everything possible to influence the inmate toward a constructive attitude with regard to the institutional and parole programs, and also to secure their assistance in the formulation of parole programs at an early date.

Over the years, there has been much discussion regarding the negative role the custodial staff plays in the treatment program in correctional institutions. It should not be overlooked that the custodial staff has the opportunity to observe members of professional groups, including the psychiatrist, the educator and the social worker enter the institutional scene, each apparently with the fixed belief that the profession he represents has the complete answer to the inmate's needs, and because it has there is no necessity of working in cooperation with the representatives of other professions or the custodial staff. It should surprise no one if the custodial personnel develops a certain skepticism with regard to the effectiveness of professional treatment of the offender. The critics apparently forget that the custodial staff has been, since the opening of the first prison, responsible for the safekeeping of those committed to state correctional institutions, and in addition for the maintenance of discipline and the orderly operation of the institution. When they deviate from this traditional role, any realistic person knows that the stimulation to do so is apt to come from superiors with social vision and interest in the individual offender.

Service units have been organized on the principle that all of the institutional personnel and services play an important role in altering the attitudes of inmates and in preparing them for release. In organizing service units it has been our experience that this is particularly important

in the case of custodial personnel, for it is the group of institutional employes who outnumber all others and have the closest everyday relationship with all of the inmates of the institution. It is the custodial officer who has the opportunity to observe the normal behavior of inmates in the shops, during recreation or with their institutional buddies.

The custodial officer plays an important part in the treatment process in institutions where service units function. His efforts in this direction are integrated with the whole institutional treatment program.

When disciplinary action is taken against an inmate by a custodial officer, a copy of his formal report to the assistant superintendent or disciplinarian, describing the details of the inmate's misconduct, and also a record of the action taken, become part of the service unit chronological record. Through the assistant superintendent, custodial officers provide the service unit with reports covering the problems of individual inmates, their associates, the activities of inmates, particularly those which take place in recreation rooms, cellblocks and dormitories, as well as information regarding the inmate's aliases and nicknames. This information is extremely valuable in the counseling program carried on with the inmate and later during the period of parole supervision.

The correspondence censor, in reviewing incoming and outgoing mail, secures information regarding the personal and family problems of inmates as well as family situations which may cause inmates to become emotionally disturbed. He also makes available to the service unit information pertaining to the interest and attitude of relatives, and reports on violations of the institutional rules and regulations pertaining to correspondence. All of this information is incorporated in the service unit record.

As it is the objective to obtain as many slants as possible on each inmate and a knowledge of his good and bad points, information regarding inmates is secured and recorded from all sources, and this information is utilized by the service unit staff for guidance and counseling purposes.

After each inmate has been participating in the assigned institutional program for a period of months, the exact period depending upon the particular institution in which he is confined, he reappears before the classification or program committee. This reappearance occurs for the purpose of fulfilling the committee's secondary function, which is that of arriving at a decision as to whether the inmate will be certified to the parole board for release consideration, or will be required to reappear before the classification committee after a specified lapse of time for further consideration. Prior to the inmate's reappearance, all of the service unit functions previously described have been completed. Each

member of the classification board or program committee is provided with a copy of the service unit record prior to the reappearance of each inmate. The committee, using the service unit record, reviews with each inmate his progress in the institutional program to which he was assigned by the committee during the reception period, and his general institutional conduct. The committee certifies the inmate for appearance before the parole board or indicates a date when he may reappear before the committee for further consideration. In instances where inmates are held for reappearance before the classification committee, the committee may make recommendations to the service unit for special treatment or for changes in the institutional program.

When the decision is made to certify an inmate to the parole board for parole consideration, the meeting of that board at which he will appear is specified, and this is usually one scheduled three months subsequent to the date of certification. During this period the institutional preparole procedure to be subsequently outlined and the preparole field investigation, which is conducted by the district offices of the division of parole, are carried out. The inmate continues in the institutional program to which he had been assigned, and if either his progress or conduct are unsatisfactory, the classification committee may cancel its certification and require the inmate to make satisfactory progress in the institutional program for a designated period before he will again be considered for appearance before the board of parole.

The service unit, therefore, plays an important role in the work of the classification committee. Members of the service unit staff participate in assigning each inmate to a planned institutional program. The inmate spends some months, depending upon the particular institution, in this program which is designed to prepare him for release, and during that period he receives systematic guidance and counseling from the service unit staff members. The service unit record makes available to the classification committee a detailed account of this whole process, including a chronological record of the inmate's progress and conduct in that program. The classification committee bases its decision to certify the inmate to the parole board for release consideration on this information and a personal interview with the inmate. The committee's proceedings in considering inmates for certification to the parole board become part of the service unit record.

Immediately subsequent to certification by the program or classification committee, the process of preparing for the inmate's appearance before the parole board is initiated. Cumulative reports regarding the inmate's over-all accomplishment and the results of treatment in the institutional

program are compiled by the various institutional department heads. A report of this type is submitted by the director of education covering the inmate's educational accomplishment and the skills he has developed in the vocational training program of the institution. The institutional physician supplies information covering the inmate's current physical condition indicating treatment which will be completed prior to release in the event the inmate's case is acted upon favorably by the board of parole, or that will need to be considered in the community in the event of parole. Where psychiatric service is available, reports covering a psychiatric examination are obtained and summarized in the service unit record. Current reports are also received from the chaplains and the correspondence censor.

After this material has been recorded in the service unit record, the parole officer to whom the case is assigned in the service unit conducts a preparole interview, the content of which is included in the preparole summary prepared by the parole officer as part of the service unit record. The recording of this summary is organized under headings similar to those used in the parole officer's initial interview, with the exception that the title, "Follow-up," is omitted. This constitutes a summary of the institutional treatment and parole planning which has been in progress during the period of incarceration up until the time of the inmate's certification to the Parole Board. It indicates to the district office parole officer who must conduct the preparole investigation, and to the board of parole at the time of the inmate's appearance for release consideration, the extent to which the inmate has prepared himself for release and the degree to which he has profited by the institutional treatment program. So far as it is possible to do so, it contains a formal, prospective parole program for which the inmate, within his limitations and those of the institutional program, will have prepared himself through the guidance and counseling, the vocational and educational training, the physical education and recreational programs, as well as the medical attention he has received while at the institution. The service unit record, including the preparole summary, is forwarded to the district office or offices of the division of parole where it is used by the district office parole officer as the basis of the preparole field investigation.

In the course of the preparole investigation, the district office parole officer, through community contacts with the inmate's parents and other relatives, prospective employers and community agencies, verifies and amplifies the parole planning begun and carried on in the institution. He submits a formal preparole report for the use of the parole board in considering the inmate for release, which provides current information re-

garding the inmate's family situation, the attitude of the community towards his release and verified information regarding the prospective parole program.

The board of parole may make a decision either to hold the inmate for a whole or part of the unexpired period of commitment, or grant him release to parole supervision during that period.

The service unit record facilitates the processing of cases by the parole board because it provides the board members hearing the case with detailed information regarding the inmate's progress and conduct in the institutional program, as well as the considerations of the classification committee in certifying him for parole consideration.

Through the guidance and counseling services provided by the service unit staff, together with the inmate's participation in planning his institutional and parole program, a concerted effort is made to secure the inmate's acceptance of responsibility for his conduct in the institutional program, as well as the formulation of a suitable parole program.

After the inmate's appearance before the parole board, the service unit process is continued.

Individuals who appeared before the board and were not paroled, and held for a further period of time, are interviewed by the service unit parole officer as soon as possible after the parole board meeting for the purpose of interpreting the board's decision and continuing the counseling process. In many instances the board, in making a decision to hold an inmate for a further period, issues special recommendations or instructions regarding the treatment to be carried out prior to his reappearance. In other instances, it imposes certain standards of conduct and accomplishment in the institutional programs which must be fulfilled by the inmate if he expects to receive favorable consideration at the time of his reappearance before the board. Special attention is given to this group of inmates by the service unit parole officer.

In the cases of inmates who are paroled, a service unit parole officer conducts a pre-release interview prior to release wherein he reviews the parole plans and the conditions of parole with the inmate. This also includes specific instructions as to how he is to travel and to whom he is to report at the district office where he will be under parole supervision. At this time the parole officer briefly reviews the inmate's progress through the institutional program and outlines what will be expected of him during the period of parole supervision. A recording of this interview, as part of the service unit chronological record compiled subsequent to parole board appearance, is forwarded immediately to the district office for the purpose of having it available as part of the complete Service Unit

record when the parolee makes his arrival report.

This record provides the supervising parole officer with an account of the parolee's limitations and the problems with which he will continue to need counseling and help during the period of parole supervision. The nature of the inmate's problems and the progress of treatment begun in the institution and Service Unit are then sufficiently clear in the service unit recording to permit the initiation of parole supervision by the district parole officer as one continuous case process.

Subsequent to the inmate's release, copies of the chronological history of parole supervision carried on in the district offices of the division of parole are forwarded to the service unit as they are completed and become part of the service unit record. It is then possible to evaluate the relationship of the institutional treatment to parole supervision.

The service unit procedures carried out with parole violators is substantially similar to that used when inmates are initially received at the institution.

When service units have been in operation for a period of time and sufficient information is accumulated, it is expected that complete service unit records will be used for the purpose of conducting case studies to evaluate treatment processes.

The service units now functioning in the reformatories afford persons confined in those institutions a continuous program of individual treatment.

It is accepted that there is a need for constant stimulation of service unit staff members through the use of systematic case reading, qualitative evaluation of the case process and periodic case conferences with individual staff members, to avoid the possible development of stereotyped treatment. It is also important that periodic evaluation and adjustment of service unit procedures be undertaken within individual correctional institutions to meet the changing requirements of the particular institution.

THE COMMUNITY ASPECT

REINTEGRATION OF THE OFFENDER IN THE COMMUNITY

C. Boyd McDivitt

IN thinking about the reintegration of offenders in the community, it is easy to slip over into the realm of idealism. The day to day job of working with released prisoners, however, pulls us back to the reality of the problems and the limitations involved.

The manner in which prisoners are released; the availability and suitability of the release plan; the opportunity for a satisfying community adjustment; these, are now regarded as being worthy of considerable attention.

It has become apparent that irrespective of what took a man to prison, irrespective of what is predicted of his adjustment upon release, the best plan available, within the limits of the resources of the individual and the community to which he returns, is worth developing.

Since at least 95 per cent of all offenders are released, and their release is inevitable and mandatory in the vast majority of cases, our concern for the return of the prisoner going out by expiration of sentence is as essential as any phase of correction.

It is now generally accepted practice to require a community living plan before release by parole. The correctional system is assuming more and more responsibility for aid to offenders becoming eligible for parole.

By and large, prisoners being released by expiration of sentence are viewed differently. There is much less attention paid to their plans for release, much less help offered, and much less concern about their plight.

There are some states which are concerned with the reintegration of prisoners discharged by expiration, as well as by parole, and unfortunately there are others in which such discharges are made under the most crime-provoking situations imaginable.

In some states, expiration prisoners are discharged without a semblance of a living plan, without funds for a first night's lodging, without transportation to a home within the state, if they have one. Unemployable prisoners are discharged without a program of care.

In speaking of the "reintegration of offenders," we must think of release from prison in its entirety.

The concept of parole as a release procedure has continued to grow

in acceptance. Yet there are states where up to 80 per cent of the releases are by expiration of sentence. The concept that release by parole should reach the vast majority is crystallizing. Irrespective of how sound this is, the fact remains that for some time to come we shall have extensive discharges by expiration.

Parole selection, by and large, is a process of calculating risk and the safest risks are paroled. There are exceptions, to be sure. The safest risks are released to investigated and approved plans. The greater risks are often released to flounder on the first day out.

The process of predicting success as a determinate of parolability has come a stigma on the un-paroled prisoner. This stigma is at times reflected in an attitude toward the prisoner discharged by expiration, an attitude of pending failure, and that plans for release are therefore somewhat futile.

While it may be impractical to think in terms of supervision of all released prisoners in many states at this time, it does not seem impractical to be alert to the situations into which prisoners are to be discharged and to alleviate the situations insofar as possible. The aim of the process of aiding in reintegration has been stated to be that of helping the prisoner recognize and think frankly about the situations confronting him; to think through the possible alternatives available to him and from which he may choose; and to help him understand that he must accept, and that he will be held responsible for his choices and his acts.

This process is one of exploration, and recognizes all the limitations present. It is one of finding the most favorable plan within these limitations. It is one that, while it may reveal areas of need to be met somehow in the interest of rehabilitation and crime control, also recognizes that many deficiencies cannot be met and it is a matter of making the best of what is available. The process goes beyond the concept of judging risk and worthiness and embraces the concept of doing what can reasonably be done to make the return as safe and lasting as possible. It goes beyond the concept of determining if adjustment help is to be given on the basis of a prediction of success, or some measurement of the capacities peculiar to each individual, and embraces the concept of giving reasonable help as a means toward maximum community protection regardless of the prediction.

When the day comes that correctional procedures are measured realistically against a standard of best community welfare and greatest protection, then a larger portion of the correctional budget may be usable in community reintegration. It seems so obvious, when viewing imprisonment from a broader perspective of maximum community welfare, that

there are basic essential minimum needs which must be assured. These include, as we will know—

An immediate living plan at time of discharge,
Transportation to that living plan,
Opportunities to become self-sustaining, if able,
Discharge clothing for travel and work,
If unemployable, an adequate program of care.

Certainly until these are met, a beginning cannot be made on working through other disturbing adjustment problems.

The best possible reintegration of offenders in the community is a three-pronged responsibility which must be clearly recognized by each party involved. Without a well coordinated working relationship and recognition of the total procedure on the part of all, only partial results can come. This responsibility includes the individual, the correctional system, and the community. We have come through a period of recognizing that the sound procedure of working with people is "not doing for," but "doing with"—that the individual may move on his own initiative and with better understanding and purpose. Thus the whole process of reintegration from beginning to end, is one which keeps the individual in the foreground. Planning as well as adjustment activity revolves around his interests, his desires, and within the limits of his capacities and resources. The responsibility and the role of the individual is well recognized. The community at large has certainly a responsibility, but at best this feeling of responsibility is vague and uncertain.

It seems unreasonable, on the one hand, to expect that the community will come forth with a solution to many problems of released prisoners. There are, for instance, prisoners urgently in need of employment who, because of persistent demonstrations of instability and unreliability, cannot reasonably expect to be considered favorably by an employer.

There are, on the other hand, certain things that we may rightly expect. One is the avoidance of a blanket stigma for all offenders; a willingness to look objectively at individual cases and make decisions on their respective merits; belief in the capacity of the individual to change and stabilize; a willingness to give reasonable opportunities for readjustment when there is evidence of merit; and to recognize the stake of the community at large in the effectiveness of correctional procedures for its own protection. In reflecting over this topic, one thing seems to stand out—that is, the focal point from which all activity radiates in respect to planned release adjustment is the correctional system itself.

The community has many dormant, potential resources to be developed.

It is folly to believe that they will arise without being awakened, and from some purely self-interest come forth offering their services. This may happen, but exceptionally. Only by planned, deliberate activity can valuable community help be converted from a dormant potential to a live, interested, helpful reality. The responsibility for doing this seems to rest squarely with the correctional system.

Only the correctional system knows the individual offender approaching release; from the standpoint of the problems confronting him at time of discharge, the probable difficulties to be faced in his return to community life, and the type of help which he might use. It is not enough to know this. Dormant community services are of no value to the individual. There is a real obligation not only to ferret out the problems and needs of prisoners, but to go further and develop the resources of the community. This is truly a promotional job.

The first step might well be with the organized community agencies, the private and public agencies, of city, county, state and federal jurisdiction. Few of us know well enough the community services and help which could be utilized in our work with offenders, and less actually put into practice the aids about which we know.

A second step might be utilization of groups interested in the promotion of social welfare programs including correction. Many of these, when approached and advised of the problems and needs of offenders, and particularly readjustment needs, do come forth with specific aid of various kinds.

A third step is that of reaching out into unorganized community resources, which most often is accomplished on an individual basis through direct contacts made by the correctional staff and informed persons.

A fourth step, while important, is probably least effective insofar as immediate returns are concerned, but is one which can pay dividends in the long run. That is a broader public education approach concerning the attitude of the community at large toward correctional aims and concepts.

Thus preparation for release goes beyond the preparation of the offender, beyond the development of the immediate release plan. The success of community reintegration will include the promotion and development of a well aimed program to relegate community resources most usable in correctional work. While every correctional system has developed some, perhaps many, it is probably little more than a scratch on the surface. One area of acute need is that of financial assistance pending employment and self-sufficiency. It seems reasonable to expect the state to provide funds, on the basis of need, for this critical period,

either through the correctional system on its public assistance program. Community forces can be organized to support such a program.

Another acute need is transportation to a verified living plan, within or out of the state. It seems reasonable to expect the state to provide these funds, on the basis of need, for such travel. Likewise proper clothing for work and travel must somehow be available on the basis of need, and the correctional system seems to be the logical dispenser.

For these basic needs little can be obtained from the community in the way of help, other than understanding and active support of the public program. In many of the other areas of need, such as finding employment, plans for the care of the unemployable, counselling on problems arising from release, marital and family problems, vocational rehabilitation, medical problems and hospitalization, there are many sources of community help. Social agencies can be utilized during incarceration for many types of service, such as reaching into the family group regarding problems disturbing to the prisoner or in preparation for his return.

The correctional system, however, must often take the initiative either in calling upon the various agencies for help, or inform and refer the prisoners to the service. Preferably such referrals should be made a reasonable time in advance of release. In making referrals for adjustment help, there are pertinent facts which should be made available for the agencies use. This includes such information as: the medical history as it pertains to employment or need for care; employment history including institutional training, new skills and interests developed, and work attitudes; an evaluation of family relationships, and known areas of contention and friction; special interests that may be appealed to or utilized in rebuilding social relationships and activities; known resources, financial and socially, and pertinent personality traits.

There are, in several of the large cities, prisoners aid associations, or related agencies with a special division, devoted to work with offenders. These agencies are available for a variety of services to prisoners. A directory of the agencies and a statement of their services is available. They are not only concerned with service directly to offenders, but in addition stand ready to support and promote sound correctional practices within their respective states. Their services are well known to the correctional agencies of the state.

While these agencies have limited finances to carry out their work effectively, they cannot possibly assume the responsibility for the financial needs of all released prisoners. Their service is primarily a casework counselling service in regard to release and adjustment problems which is used voluntarily by offenders.

In summary, may I briefly state that the plight of the prisoner being discharged by expiration of sentence must be more clearly recognized. The correctional system and the community, for its own protection, must come forth with more adequate aids in release adjustment. If the community resources are better developed and made usable, it will be through the instigation and by the promotion of the correctional system. Many community sources of help are now available and can be utilized more advantageously.

One of the harsh realities of life is the fact that, regardless of our felt needs, we can act only within the limits of our resources and limitations. Many of the deficiencies of offenders cannot be relieved, and community adjustment is a matter of helping the individual make the most of what he has. Regardless of prognosis of the individual, maximum community protection and sound correctional procedure seem to dictate that there are basic minimum essential needs of released prisoners for which the state should make provision. Release planning should aim at the development of the best possible living program and preferably supervision should be a part of the release procedure irrespective of the prediction of adjustment success.

THE COMMUNITY ASPECT

THE ROLE OF THE CITIZEN IN THE CORRECTIONAL SERVICES

Leon Thomas Stern

EVERY organization established to promote welfare projects needs the support of citizens for the furtherance of its work. All of us accept that as true; however, the role we give the citizen varies. Usually we ask his moral support; we ask him to contribute funds. Moral and financial support are basic to every correctional program. However, I would like to raise two questions today. What is the role which the citizen plays in a correctional program, and how do we enlist and implement his support?

Since 1870, the American Prison Congress has developed a strong and effective program in its field through the devoted participation of public officials and professional workers. Pioneers and great leaders in correctional work have contributed to development of this program. The roster of outstanding officials and workers is a long and illustrious one; their names are well known throughout the country: Wines, Kirchwey, Brockway, Lawes, Ellis, Bates, MacCormick, Bennett.

From time to time influential citizens also have helped make the history of the Association, from Rutherford B. Hayes, who headed it for nine years, and Thomas Mott Osborne, great prison reformer, to Samuel Lewisohn and Howland Shaw, who are still active with us. But now we can no longer interest the citizen by simply asking for his moral or his financial support. If we are to have enthusiastic citizen cooperation to include the large body of concerned individuals in our country who would wish to give service as laymen, we must give these individuals opportunity for true participation.

Since the correctional field is a tough one, with special knowledge required, the inter-relation of penal officials, professional workers and citizens, requires special consideration and thoughtful organizing for united action.

But it is essential to realize that today no program of correctional work can be developed except through citizens and even, in many stages, with citizen leadership. The time has passed when the community will accept plans only upon the say so of the specialist or expert. Modern prison projects, the reformation of the jail, probation, parole, the prevention

of juvenile delinquency, prison visiting, work with discharged prisoners, succeed when citizens accept and believe these are good things, and therefore wish them to succeed.

An organization, local, state, or national, which has as its aim improvement of professional competence in the correctional area, or development of new services, or expansion of old services, consequently must rely heavily upon civic groups in our communities and our states for success of its efforts.

How can individual citizens participate? In any program there are processes of organization and action which can be viewed in stages. First, we must define the problem or activity with which we propose to deal; prison, probation, parole, juvenile delinquency, et cetera. Second, we must find facts on which to base our proposals. Planning social action may then follow, succeeded by organization for action of community forces and resources in the area of operation, whether the locality be a town, a county, a state, or a nation. Then follows the concluding aim which is that of social action.

These are not necessarily separate steps which merge one into the other. The order of operation is not always the same, nor is it necessary to go through every step in any one program. Social action required may be very simple. All the facts may be known and no extensive planning or organization of community forces is necessary. However, at each stage there must always be interpretation. The facts must be interpreted. Planning for action must be interpreted to the community. The social action in itself must be interpreted to those participating, or to the wider public concerned. Then interpretation may become publicity, or what we know as public relations. The citizen's role is of greatest importance, for he must help us establish a sound relation with the public with which he is the connecting link.

In the various parts of the program, neither the citizen nor the professional is invariably equally competent or serviceable. For example, the citizen is not usually competent in fact-finding, either because finding facts requires special skill and knowledge of a particular field, or because it requires more time than the average person can give on a voluntary basis. This is true also of organization of the community forces, which requires time, experience and aptitude. In social action, however, it is the citizen who becomes the front man to carry out proposals. For social action is effected in the name of citizens of a community or a state, not in the name of a professional group. It is essential, then, that the citizen participate to a lesser or greater degree in each part of the activity—from definition of the problem to culminating social action.

Even though he does not take leadership in all stages of this process, the layman should be a part of it at all times, otherwise he is not informed enough to be prepared to help in carrying out the program or in taking the action necessary.

Many organizations with competent staffs make studies that are thorough, and are presented most effectively. The recommendations are precise, clear-cut, reasonable, cogent. Everybody thinks they are fine. Then the survey or study is often left to the community for action—as if action should be automatic. To everyone's surprise, however, no action is taken. It may happen because the particular community or state is not ready for the necessary action. But it may be that the study has not been made part and parcel of community thinking during the whole chain, from fact gathering and survey through analysis, planning and recommending. Had citizens who were expected to take final social action been carried along at every point, the recommendations would not have been put to sleep in a committee room or languished in a desk drawer.

What form does social action usually take? It may take the form of a legislative proposal. The thought here may be the simple idea that "there should be a law about it."

The social action, on the other hand, may mean in the minds of the group that there is demand for administrative change or improvement. Here the thought is that "the authorities should do something about it."

Or, again, it may be that the citizens themselves believe that they can carry out action and themselves effect the change, or establish the service envisioned. Here the simple idea is, "we, the community, ought to do something about it."

It might be helpful at this point to give specific illustrations of a number of problems in which citizens participate, and what part they play.

1. A citizen group defines its problem as the need for a new county jail. The professional worker with the group may see almost immediately that the understanding of the problem is not correct, and that a new jail will not meet the situation, but that a prison farm will do so. This changes the attack on the problem, and the citizens role. A new and different type of fact finding, of course, is required, related to the establishment and development of a prison farm. To the citizens must be interpreted now the problems of institutional management, farm operation by a prison group, possible costs and expenditures, in order that the civic leaders may sell the proposed project to the fiscal authorities and the community.

2. The group believes that there is necessity for a detention home for children awaiting court hearing. The pressing need is discovered, but fact finding reveals further that what is required is not only a detention home, but a center for psychological, social and medical study of children in trouble, in order that the juvenile court judge may make suitable disposition of each child's case. The solution here has been made more specific through fact finding. The citizen's task now is to acquaint himself thoroughly with the new idea in order to lead his fellow citizens to action should the plan be deemed more valid and desirable than the original idea of erecting a house of detention to provide for custodial care only.

3. The group believes that a home to which discharged prisoners can go after they leave prison is needed. But those familiar with the problem, on the contrary, believe that a case working agency giving service to discharged prisoners would be more helpful. In a case like this, it would be necessary to balance carefully alternative plans in order to determine what the best social action should be.

4. The group has a concern for personal service with offenders and canvasses the service a layman can give. Prison visiting is discussed as one method of giving such service, sponsorship of parolees released from prison as another method, work with discharged prisoners and probationers as a third method.

Exploration of the various projects suggested gives an understanding of what a layman can do and what he cannot do. Joint analysis of the various proposals by citizens and professionals makes it apparent that the case work leadership in personal service with offenders of various types, whether they are in prison, on probation or parole, must be given by professional case workers with the lay worker relating his activities to professional supervision.

5. The group believes that a probation officer for adult criminals is needed; but an examination of cases reveals that while a probation officer for adult offenders is certainly essential, an even more urgent need is to establish in the juvenile court, a probation service for children in trouble. Here the citizen has indeed a role to play in interpretation both to the judge and to the community. The needs of children can be felt and expressed by members of the community. They may even contribute facts here from neighborhood or group experience.

6. The group believes that a special service for youthful offenders between the ages of 16 and 21 is lacking. These young people are our most serious problem, and close to the interest of every citizen because it concerns youth on the threshold of manhood. Desire for action is

strong; nevertheless, joint study of the situation by citizens and specialists demonstrates that this age group will fully be taken care of by developing a good service for all offenders in the courts, and that it will not be desirable if a particular age group is singled out for special attention.

There are some problems which are seemingly in the domain of the professional worker alone. For example, if a parole service is criticized as being slack or inefficient, it requires someone especially skilled and experienced professionally to analyze criticism and to support or controvert it before citizen groups can take action. This is even more true in the highly controversial, penological and medical problems as involved in the establishment of service and institutions for psychopathic offenders, sex criminals, feeble-minded delinquents, et cetera. This is also largely true of such special projects as the establishment of a criminal statistics service by the state or city.

In discussing the role of the citizen, we realize immediately that citizen participation in the program of an agency requires organization and staff to make it possible, and also representation and the organization of citizens themselves. What happens so often is that the average of "garden variety" of citizens is left out. Participation is too often by persons with specific knowledge of the problem, i.e., lawyers, sociologists, psychologists, specialists in the field of medicine, penal officials, social workers, et cetera. They serve as voluntary members of a committee or group and take over leadership unless specific room is made for the citizen who is not a specialist. Every organization, whether it is local, state or country-wide, should provide place on its board personnel for average citizens in order to facilitate their participation and cooperation.

There should be local or regional committees. A national organization, instead of having all of its committees in some big national center like New York or Chicago, should have regional committees or groups of which citizens are members. A New York State organization should not have all its activities centered in New York City, nor an Illinois organization in Chicago, nor a Pennsylvania organization in Philadelphia or Pittsburgh. Opportunities should be given for meetings with citizens in more than one part of the state or country.

Problems in which citizens are asked to cooperate, however, should be on the level of citizen interest. It is a matter of sound psychology that busy citizens, no matter how well informed or significant they may be as members of a community group, can only participate in activities within their range of interest and in which their responsibility is aroused to sympathy and concern. We can appeal to general civic duty, but that is not always effective. We must instead discover specific problems for

citizens cooperation which appeal to human understanding and sympathy.

Everyone is concerned about prevention of child delinquency because there is in all of us the immediate desire to save a child from a career of crime and wrongdoing. There is interest in prison visiting because isolation of a man from human society through loss of liberty rouses compassion in men and women. People are interested in alcoholics today because scientific studies and the activities of groups, such as Alcoholics Anonymous, have shown that sending an alcoholic to jail is a waste of time and of the taxpayer's money, that it is ineffective. Alcoholism by many is no longer considered a crime, but something akin to a physical illness. Citizens are also deeply concerned with our prison building programs, because they understand that certain types of offenders should safely be isolated from society for a long period of time as a danger to fellow men. Citizens want protection from dangerous offenders and from psychopathic offenders whose conduct is unpredictable. They want also to reduce the cost of crime. Looking upon millions lost through depredations of offenders and other millions spent in trying and penalizing them, they are led to action for prevention and treatment of criminal conduct.

In the prison and correctional field, there are now many organizations in which citizens may participate. On the state level, there are the prison associations in Massachusetts, Connecticut, New York, Pennsylvania, Maryland, Illinois, Missouri, Wisconsin, Kansas, California, Oregon, et cetera. In the probation and parole field, there are state associations and national and regional bodies.

Sessions of the American Prison Association and the National Jail Association have always given opportunity for the enunciation of principles and serve as national forums in which citizens attend.

It is not the purpose of this paper to suggest how citizens can participate more effectively in state and national correctional programs. That will be the task of the Committee on Citizen Participation of the American Prison Congress which is developing a report.

It also goes without saying that each citizen we ask to participate must himself have a feeling of personal responsibility. He must be moved to action by something within himself. He must have what Quakers call a "concern," or what others speak of as a call to duty. It is difficult to enlist citizens in cooperation when this feeling of individual responsibility to society is lacking. But responsibility is created and grows as citizens participate.

We can no longer appeal to moral duty and the sympathetic pocket-book. People will give their moral support if they take part creatively in the development of a program. If they know what it is all about, from

A to Z, they will give themselves. They will join with fervor. They will make personal sacrifices for realization of plans proposed if they are made their own. They will give money and time generously. They will fill their role as citizens by giving leadership and by taking responsibility.

Abraham Flexner said, "The citizen in a democracy may delegate power, but he cannot absolve himself of responsibility."

THE JUDICIAL ASPECT

THE HEARING AS A PART OF THE TREATMENT PROCESS

Gustav L. Schramm

ONE warm, sunny day, as I was walking along the riverfront and saw the sunlight on the waters, I looked up at the high walls of the building in which I was to speak. There were bars on the windows, and the lights were glaring from inside. I wondered what I, as one person, could do to meet such a tremendous power for evil as was symbolized by the walls of a penitentiary. I walked up the steps and, finally, the doors were thrown open. Apparently, I was eligible to be admitted to a penitentiary. As I walked in, a guard came rushing up to meet me and shook hands vigorously, saying, "My boy is doing all right now." It all personified itself to me as I thought that this father might have had to meet his own boy at the gate of the penitentiary if you and I, if all of us working together, if the community, had not been able to help that boy in time.

I was escorted to the platform of a large auditorium and looked down upon hundreds of men assembled, sitting around in all sorts of poses, apparently not particularly thrilled by the prospect before them. Having so much time on their hands, I presumed they thought they might as well attend. I told them that I had been asked to speak to them on the place of a child in the home and in the community. I told them I thought such a title too general a one. I would rather talk to them about my job. I asked them to tell me then, from their experience, how I might be able to do a better job to keep boys and girls from growing up and going to such a place as they were in. I told them this was one time at least when they could talk back to a judge and that it wouldn't hurt them a bit. I could see smiles flitting across their faces. Some had talked back to a judge, and it hadn't been a very happy occasion. They took me at my word. I had a rather vigorous time. Many were rather sour and disillusioned. Life had been harsh. Here I was asking for it, and they were quite willing to let me have it.

Quickly, however, they sensed my challenge and wanted to give me the benefit of their experience and their thinking, so that the younger generation, through me, might benefit. I was much impressed with the thought that was expressed by one after the other than if there had

been one person, at least one person, interested in them as a human being, they might not be where they were. Of course, this probably is an exaggeration, as we as yet do not have enough facilities to meet the problems of all persons nor do we know enough about human nature to sense the problems that each person might have. However, I am quite convinced that in the great majority of cases they could have been saved from a life of crime by the right contact at the right time. We are largely what we are by reason of the contact we have had with other people, bringing out what is within us. If we will only look back in our own lives, I am sure each one of us will remember a parent, a teacher, a friend, or perhaps several people, if we're fortunate enough, of whom we say, "That person meant something to me," perhaps more than that person himself realized. We, in turn, are influencing the lives of others, perhaps more than we realize. Human conduct is, to a large extent, determined by human contact.

All of us want to have a sense of belonging, to have people really care. We want people to give us some recognition for what we may be able to do well, and all of us must learn to play the game according to the rules. It is especially important that children, during their immature, impressionable years, be able to find themselves in relationship to the world about them. It is on the basis of one with another that these elementary factors in human life become real and meaningful. Therefore, we in the court set-up are trying to put into effect in our contacts what is fundamental in all human relationships.

Perhaps people do not think of a court except as something cold and impersonal and punitive. In a juvenile court we are particularly directed to consider the needs of the individual child and the welfare of the community. As a juvenile court we are not a criminal court for children. We are not a criminal court at all but, instead, we are authorized to act *in loco parentis*, somewhat like a court of equity, in individualizing those who come before us.

Another way of illustrating it, perhaps, would be by considering Justice blindfolded and holding a scale, allowing the facts in the case to tip the balance. As we put it, Justice is no respecter of persons. There is no one above the law. That is our ideal of justice in our adult world. However, with children we know that they are still in the formative period of life and we are, therefore, in a juvenile court, directed to remove the blindfold, as it were, to see the child and to take him by the hand, so to speak, and lead him to firmer ground.

In such a court the judge has a unique opportunity and responsibility to personify the interest of the community in the child, to compliment

him for his good deeds, however minor, and to encourage him to correct his defects so that he may get along better and merit our increased approval. In other words, we have a chance to accentuate the positive and to help him to learn that rules are reasonable and suitable for all of us and that we must learn to play the game accordingly.

How can we as judges put into practice these objectives? Of course, we must have preparation for our contact with the child. It is important that a staff be organized to bring to the attention of the judge all the information he may need that is available concerning a child's family, his physical and mental condition, his school adjustment, his religious and community contacts—anything and everything that will distinguish him as a person. I like to receive the reports of the officer at least a day in advance of the hearing so that I may, the evening before, read over the reports calmly and thoughtfully without the pressure of time and people and attempt to consider what is basically the problem with this youngster.

The first time I asked for these reports, shortly after my induction into office, members of the staff, in their tactful way, attempted to point out to me how busy they were and how difficult it was to get the reports ready in time for the hearing. I agreed with them but indicated that I was still anxious to have them before the hearing; and, if necessary, we would postpone the hearing a day. They realized that I was serious about it, and we have had the reports accordingly on schedule. It has meant much to me in giving meaning to my contacts, rather than going through a mere form with a lot of generalities. Youngsters are quick to see right through us, and unless we are prepared to do our part in accordance with what we say, the youngster will play us accordingly.

In opening our sessions we invite everyone present for hearings to come into the courtroom, where we repeat in unison the pledge of allegiance to the flag. This is for a twofold purpose: first, to start our sessions on the proper patriotic and judicial note—justice for all. In the second place, it enables the people to come into the room to see what it looks like and, perhaps also, to see what we look like, to relieve somewhat the tension of waiting hours, as it may be, until their turn arrives. As the pledge is completed, everyone again withdraws from the room except the clerk, the stenographer, and me. We are then ready for the first youngster's problem.

The probation officer comes into the room and discusses with me his report. It gives us a chance, in a few brief moments, to bring our thinking together and to proceed. We usually then invite into the room those who are professionally interested, such as a lawyer, a clergyman, teacher, social worker, and any others who are willing to consult with us. In the

case of the lawyer, we always have him come in first and alone so that we may ask him to work with us as an officer of the court, as well as the attorney for the child and his family, to reach a sound solution. We exchange information and approach the whole matter from an inquiry point of view. I am quite certain that lawyers respond wholeheartedly to such an approach as professional and civic-minded, responsible members of the community. The attorney, if there is one present, then stays right with me throughout the balance of the hearing.

After we have had a chance to consult with those who have come to the hearing on behalf of the child and the family, including those who have complaints to make, I find it suitable to leave the courtroom and go to a small room adjacent to the courtroom, where I may sit down alone with the child. To me, this is the heart of my work. As we sit down together, very frequently the boy is surprised. I don't know what judges are supposed to look like but, obviously, many boys are surprised when they see me. You know how frank youngsters are if you give them half a chance. I said to one boy who seemed so very much surprised, "Well, what did you expect?" "Oh," he said, "I thought I'd see some old sourpuss," which I immediately accepted as a compliment.

Another boy leaned over to me very earnestly and said, "Let's talk man to man," which may sound very flippant but is exactly the idea when any one of us is in trouble; we like to sit down with another person and have a heart to heart talk and feel that the other person is really interested in us. In such a setting with a boy, I can use language which he understands. There is no attempt at patronizing or of putting on a show. As each boy is a new challenge to me, I certainly have no feeling of boredom. If there were others present routinely and we came to talk about matters in a way that perhaps had been used before, there would be a subconscious relaxation and feeling, "Well, here comes that routine again." But with me as an active participant, there obviously cannot be such a feeling.

If, for example, a boy shows some hesitation to tell me the whole story, I can readily say to him, "When you are ill and go to see your doctor, do you try to fool your doctor?" Invariably, he expresses great surprise that anybody could be so foolish and says, "Of course not." I can then say to him, "Well, it's the same with us. You're young. We can help you more if you tell us everything than if you fool us." For just a moment I'm on trial. He looks me over. Can he trust me? If I can pass that test, it is one of the most humbling experiences to have a youngster just pour out his heart and tell me what he perhaps has not been able to tell anyone else before, not even his own father or mother. At such time,

particularly, one wants to call upon the best within one's self and in the community to help that boy in meeting his problems.

Also, in such a setting, a boy can speak his innermost thoughts without unpleasant distraction. I recall talking with a 13-year-old boy who had been a lookout for others in a burglary. As we were sitting there talking he told me, "You know, I didn't wait until the others came out. I went home." I said, "Yes?" He said, "You know, I got to thinking about it. Why, there's no future in this for me." If that boy had been in a room full of people I'm sure you will agree with me that there would have been a spontaneous reaction of smiles and perhaps laughter, and the boy might then have thought to himself, "I said the wrong thing. They're laughing at me." He would have been hardened by such an experience. Instead, I could say to the lad, almost biting my tongue off, "You're right, son, there's no future in that for you," and encourage him in his naive expressions of wanting to be on the right side and a member of the community's team. As we are talking together, I can say to him, again in his language, "Now, if you fumble the ball I can't pick it up for you." He quickly understands that while we are all on the same team he has a part to play, and no one else can play it for him. Very frequently he will smile and say, "I understand," which gives me the feeling of response that is often accentuated by a handclasp. Again in the boy's language, he will often say, "I won't let you down." He senses that we are in this thing together. If we have gauged accurately his ability as well as his desire to respond, we have stimulated a positive reaction which will, as time goes on, with the help of others, such as the family, the probation officer, or the training school, we hope, complete the process of rehabilitation. We, as a symbol of society, have a chance to set the tone, to have the boy feel our interest in him. It isn't necessary to make a speech. The fact that we sat down alone with him when he knows that we are busy with many others as well must give him a feeling of significance and of belonging and of individual worthiness.

Again, as we are talking, I can compliment him on the good features of his adjustment. That often comes as a surprise because he has been more accustomed to negative contacts. For example, parents will often say to me, "Did you give him a good scare?" as though I could put on my fiercest expression and scare a youngster into behaving. I don't think it would last very long even if I tried. In fact, I have the impression at times that these youngsters have been scared by experts and that the competition would be too keen. Many of them do receive a pat on the back but only in one place; it isn't distributed enough. There isn't enough encouragement as well as correction. There is the example of the

father who was surprised that his boy was in trouble. "Why," he said, "we just beat the life out of him every day."

Sometime ago a woman called me on the telephone and asked me, "What happens to bad little boys?" Before I had much chance to reply, she rattled off a long list of things as though she were repeating from me and said, "Oh, thank you." I'm quite sure some little fellow was sitting near her, getting an awful idea as to what would happen to him if he ever get into our clutches.

The other day a little girl came into the juvenile court building carrying a bag of clothes. All she could tell us was that she was "bad." She couldn't even tell us her name or where she lived, until finally we were able to get her quieted down enough so that we were able to find out how to reach her parents. Of course, by that time they were frantically running around trying to find her. They then told us that as they would pass our building from time to time with her they would point it out to her and would say, "You see, that's where you're going when you're bad," until, at last, I suppose she thought she might as well get it over with and came in to see what we were like.

The negative approach may do much harm. I recall a chief of police (and I'm glad to say he's no longer a chief of police) in one of our communities—and he doesn't represent at all the modern, progressive police point of view—who told me how he enjoyed putting youngsters in cells and seeing them turn white. He thought that was the universal cure!

As I am sitting talking with the boy, I am mindful that many of these lads have had the rules of the game changed on them in the midst of the game. Very often we find that a father has one set of rules and the mother another. The rules perhaps are different for Mary than they are for John. The rules may even vary as to how the parent feels about it from one time to another. Perhaps the most difficult for a child to understand is how a parent can say one thing and do another. Very often parents will say to me, "I didn't tell him to do that," and yet, by the parent's own behavior in breaking rules, the lad must have the impression that rules are a matter of convenience and desire rather than applicable to all of us as we go through life.

In the "man to man" contact, we can point out again in his language how we are trying to make the best of our own abilities and yet live within a social order. At times a boy will tell me that he doesn't like to go to school, for instance. I may then say to him, "Well, there are a lot of things I don't like to do either; for example, when I'm driving my car and I come to a red light, very often I don't feel like stopping." And I'll say to him, "Would it be all right if I just went right through?" He

usually is amazed at my suggestion and says, "Oh, no." And I ask him why not, and he says, "Well, it might cause an accident. It's wrong." I say, "Would it be all right if the police officer standing there saw me go through and would say to himself, 'Oh, I suppose he doesn't want to stop today?'" The youngster's reaction is very amusing as he quickly senses that he has been going through red lights, as it were, and then will indicate that he wants to be a good sport and to obey the rules. As I say, these are delicate moments that might enhance or harm, even by the tone of voice, the way in which the relationship is established and carried on. A child's future is at stake.

We, of course, will go back into the courtroom to talk with the parents and to face them with their responsibilities as to their own part in the matter and their duty to the boy, but if we can avoid having weaknesses in the family dramatized in the boy's presence, we may help to build up family ties rather than to break them down. There are times when I feel it suitable and necessary to bring a boy into the courtroom to establish clearly in the minds of the parents and, incidentally, for our record, the facts of the boy's involvement, especially if there is the slightest question raised by the parent as to his knowledge of the facts. It is then a good precaution, although our usual difficulty in a juvenile court is not so much to establish facts but to find out the why and the how to help. After we have talked with the boy and in our private conversation, therefore, have reached a rapport, he is likely to respond even in the presence of his parents, who may be somewhat defensive and protective. I have been amazed at the strength of children in sticking to the truth even though their parents may be impliedly or even directly urging them to be forgetful.

Fortunately, as a juvenile court acting as a court of equity and not as a criminal court, we may be flexible to meet the needs of individuals so far as procedure is concerned, keeping within the broad fundamental rules that govern any judicial procedure. It lies within the judge's power to understand these rules and to apply them to meet his great challenge and opportunity of serving the best interests of the child and the welfare of the community.

By these direct contacts with children, the judge will also have an opportunity to strengthen his belief in the essential soundness of human nature. Frequently, my friends tend to sympathize with me because I have so many serious problems to deal with daily, and while I in no sense wish to minimize the heartbreaks and tragedies that do come to our attention in the lives of children who have been misguided and who may have made a mistake in the choice of their parents, I believe, as well,

that a juvenile court judge has the best opportunity of seeing how children do want to respond properly if given half a chance, if we, as adults, are able to do our jobs well.

Let me tell you the story of "Grandpa." He was a 14-year-old boy in our detention home. Several days after his admission the other boys started calling him "Grandpa." He never smiled. He seemed so sad, as though he had the weight of the world upon his shoulders—old man Atlas himself. I hope no grandpas in the audience will take offense, because if they are really grandpas they usually have had the benefit of length of years and maturity to make them the kindly, tolerant people we delight to think of under that name. However, when it is forced maturity, as in the case of this young fellow, it is a sad thing indeed.

On a particularly warm day, several of the boys had been helping the clothing department, and at the end of the day the supervisor gave each of these boys a dime to go with him to the corner store to get an ice cream cone. As these boys were walking along with the supervisor, one of them, a juvenile delinquent you might call him, slid up to the supervisor and said in a whisper, "Mr. Schmunk, if you don't mind, I'd rather not buy a dime cone. I don't like ice cream that much. I'd rather just buy a nickel cone and with the other nickel, if you don't mind, I'd like to buy a chocolate bar for 'Grandpa.' Nobody ever comes to see him, nobody ever brings him anything." This little fellow, who had very little himself, was willing to share his all with another who had less. When he did get his ice cream cone, it disappeared like magic. He liked ice cream but he liked even more to do something for another. Of these two, one was a white boy, the other a Negro boy.

Sometime later I had my chance to talk with "Grandpa," and I asked him what he would like to have most of all, and in his very solemn way he turned to me and said, "A visitor;" someone to come to see him, someone interested in him.

At the present moment in our detention home we have eight youngsters who are like "Grandpa," without any visitors interested in them. A group of young ladies has asked to be permitted to visit the detention home regularly and to act as foster aunts, as it were, to youngsters in our building who otherwise do not have visitors. We shall be interested to see how that brightens the lives of these youngsters, so that when others have visitors they aren't standing by.

We are engaged in a great calling; the chance of serving humanity at a time when much can still be done, more, certainly, than at any later time. The pressure of time is always with us. As these youngsters grow older, we know their habits will become more fixed, and it will be more

difficult to help them if they turn on the wrong road.

Sometime ago I was in Washington at the headquarters of the FBI as a guest, and I was shown the fingerprint department. It was well-dramatized in having the total number of fingerprints on file at the moment shown on the wall like the number on your speedometer, and as a fingerprint is added the number changes right before your eyes. It made a vivid impression on me, so much so that I felt like running home to see whether I could not do more to keep boys and girls from growing up to be added to the criminal rolls of the country, knowing full well that when that record has been made they will be like water-soaked logs, sinking lower and lower, very rarely being able to rise to the surface again. There is much that all of us can do if we will only stimulate the community to recognize the needs of children. We must organize more and more effectively to meet those needs more adequately, and in that way brighten the future for these children and for us all.

Sometime ago I was out in San Francisco—and after this we will close—and saw Treasure Island. I'm sure many of you have seen Treasure Island; that huge island created entirely by man in that great, swirling bay and connected with marvelous bridges with the mainland. Just a few years ago engineers would have said, "Impossible." Yet, here it is. Seemingly, what man can dream in the scientific world he can do, whether it is the electric light, the telephone, the airplane, the radio, radar, the atomic bomb, television—who knows what next? But as you look around in that same bay out in San Francisco you see another island; Alcatraz, that pile of rock where some of our best-known citizens are making a permanent residence. You must wonder, "Is that the best we can do? Necessary today, yes; but can't we do better tomorrow?" In that respect, I am reminded of the words of the retired warden of Alcatraz, Mr. Johnston, whom I know and admire very much. He certainly is no sentimentalist. As Mr. Johnston puts it, he says, "I am interested in prisons. I want to see them humanized, modernized, made more efficient; but the finest prison we can ever build will be but a monument to neglected youth."

Let us have the courage and the vision to do early what we shall otherwise be obliged to do late—too late. As we join hands, one with the other, and look into the faces of troubled children, may we catch at least a glimpse of the divine unity of purpose behind it all.

THE JUDICIAL ASPECT
*NATIONAL CONFERENCE OF JUVENILE
AGENCIES*

Presidential Address

Joseph M. Kennick

TRADITION sets a pattern of high demands for a presidential address. These words of mine should be both scintillating and profound. They should be scintillating because the mind, we are told, will only absorb so long as the seat may endure, and a sparkle here and there lengthens that span of endurance considerably; profound because presidents are supposed to be that way. To meet the absolute minimum of this traditional pattern, my address should contain an all-encompassing survey of the past, a penetrating analysis of the present, and an incisive forecast of the future. Unfortunately for the attainment of these requirements your president happens to be just about the most untraditional person you can imagine.

Professionally, I have never given too much time to looking either backward or downward. It is the forward look that concerns me and I believe should be the major concern of the National Conference of Juvenile Agencies. The past is important because we came out of it; the present is of interest because we live in it, but the future—there lies all those possibilities for perfecting methods, for expanding services, for unifying efforts which call for the most intensive and creative use to which our minds may be put.

Today, then, let us direct our thinking toward needs and possible advances which may be made in the various areas of juvenile welfare serviced by the agencies here represented. That phrase, "Agencies here represented," suggests a major objective still before us—that of enlisting in our program in some functional manner all those organizations concerned with children and youth. Our membership is much too limited to match the breadth of our title. Schools, public and private, are juvenile agencies. Courts are juvenile agencies; character building organizations are juvenile agencies; law enforcement, correctional schools and probation departments constitute only a part of the picture. Somewhere, somehow, someone of vision is going to have to find a way to focus these many points of view upon the needs of youth in such a way as to develop a unified at-

tack upon the problem. It is my hope that this may be the outcome of this conference under the leadership which we have here selected.

This is no new thought. It was the major thesis of my address before the conference last year and even then it was not new. I state it again now and suggest that those who follow me continue to reiterate it until we make it a fact, for in no other way may we become the vital, cohesive force necessary for the attainment of our purposes.

Coincidental with the expansion of our membership, or perhaps as a step toward the achieving of that expansion, must come a broadening of the areas of our interests. As an indication of the scope which we should give to our inquiries and of possible directions in which our thinking should move, I would like to cite some of the highlights of the significant study just completed by the Special Crime Study Commission on Juvenile Justice of the State of California. When Governor Warren appointed this commission in 1947, he charged them "with making a report concerning the advancement and protection of the welfare of the children of California, the prevention of juvenile delinquency, and the problem of dealing with juvenile offenders against the law." They have done just that, and in addition have implemented their findings with specific legislative proposals which either have been or are now in process of being enacted into law. While their findings are restricted to California, they have undoubted value for all of us.

Perhaps the most notable part of this study, and certainly its most forward looking recommendations, have to do with court procedures as they relate to juveniles. Every member of this national conference is both familiar and in sympathy with the basic philosophy of the juvenile court that minors are not to be considered nor dealt with as criminals; that the court is strictly protective in nature, "acting as a wise parent towards children who are in difficulty either because of their own acts or the acts of other persons. We are equally aware, I am sure, of the values of those ancient safeguards against the invasion of individual rights now imbedded in traditional jurisprudence and procedure, and of the problems arising when these two concepts meet in practice.

The commission sought, so far as California is concerned, to resolve this area of conflict by weighing current judicial practices against three criteria: first, the attainment of social ends; second, the protection of society; and third, the protection of individual rights of children and their parents. Out of this balanced appraisal has come a proposal which will be a matter of thoughtful discussion and, I hope, effectual action throughout our nation in the days ahead. The proposal is that there be set up a family and children's court, either as a substitute for or as an expansion

of the present juvenile court; this court to have jurisdiction over all cases of whatever nature where children are directly affected.

The commission noted specifically a fact well known to all of us, that many "cases in which the welfare of families and children is an issue, such as contested custody, guardianship, support and neglect of children, are heard in several and separate departments or courts. Not only are these tribunals many and varied, but they are presided over by jurists who, by the very nature of the bulk of their responsibilities, cannot be especially selected for those qualities of personality, mind and training so essential to the intelligent adjudication of matters involving children." The problem is so very real, so widely prevalent, and the general approach to a solution so completely logical that we might wonder why these initial steps were not taken long ago. Perhaps I should say that we might wonder, were the answer not so clear to us. This problem has been quite apparent to those of us in professional circles for years. Time and again we have known the frustration coming to those trying to deal with the problem of families hopelessly enmeshed in judicial complexities.

As professionals in the field of youth welfare, we have seen the problem, but laws are not passed by professionals alone. They are passed by legislators as a result of public demand. The place of such a conference as ours in creating this demand, as well as in initiating the inquiry, in perfecting legislation, in furthering wise application and interpretation when that legislation becomes enacted, should be clear without further support.

While it is not my present purpose to present you with a digest of the commission's report—it is available for your own reading, and indeed, may well have been studied already by many of you, I should like to mention briefly a few of the other more salient proposals.

First: there is the recommendation that juvenile court judges be selected from among available jurists by a panel consisting of representatives of the bar, the judiciary, public education, and public welfare. The advisability of this reform is inherent in the responsibilities devolving upon the judge of a juvenile court. Unlike the jurist in an adult court, he is concerned not only with matters of fact and the applicability of law, but must make his disposition in terms of psychological, psychiatric and sociological factors as well. Certainly better qualified men will be selected when specialists in related fields other than law aid in their selection. This is no disparagement of legal skills. The man who adjudicates cases involving juveniles must be no less versed in jurisprudence than any other jurist. If differing at all in this respect, he should be even more versed. The point to be made is that he must, in addition to his

acumen, be broadly equipped in those knowledges and skills peculiar to his specialized field.

A further innovation is proposed in the statement that no minor who is being detained by order of a juvenile court shall be subject to release on bail except in the case of writs of habeas corpus, and in this latter case, only under specified conditions. This recommendation falls in a field shot through with controversy. There is no consensus of opinion even among competent jurists. It is a matter, however, worthy of much serious thought on the part of those who hold, as I believe we do, to the philosophy that laws in their application should be made to serve the best interests of the child.

Completely apart from legal theory, there are very practical considerations militating against the traditional practice of release on bail when it is applied to juveniles. In the first place, he is not charged with a crime. He has been accepted by the court *en loco parentis*, in response to a petition setting forth the need for such care. Detention, therefore, is actually a part of the care legally vested in the court and legally extended to the child. While technically he may be awaiting the court's decision as to a plan of treatment, actually that treatment is in process by virtue of the court's statutory parental relationship from the moment the court order is issued.

In the second place, improper persons may, and in practice do, post bail and thus bring about a child's release under conditions directly contrary to his well-being; and finally, even in those cases where bail is set in connection with the issuance of a writ of habeas corpus, a practical problem in justice is presented. For instance, the perpetrator of a rape may post bail and thereby gain the custody of his victim; or again, a runaway child may have been detained by court order at the request of his parents pending arrangements for his return home, when the person who has been harboring the child secures a writ, posts bail and regains control contrary to both letter and spirit of juvenile court laws. These are not hypothetical possibilities. They are recurring constantly.

The solution here seems to be the vesting in the juvenile court of sole responsibility for honoring such writs and setting bail pursuant thereto.

The matter of improved conduct of correctional schools is touched upon very lightly by the commission, but could hardly be passed over by one striving to give direction to the thinking of an organization such as this. How often, in your professional experience as institutional administrators or staff members, have you seen that term, "correctional," misapplied? If extended detention is justified at all, then intelligent detention is the only kind permissible in terms of our present knowledge of treatment

possibilities and limitations. Everywhere there is a greater need for specialized facilities, as well as personnel, to deal with the mentally retarded. We, in California, are not alone, I am sure, in being plagued with the problem of placement for that sizable body of unfortunate borderline mental cases.

Everywhere, also, there is the need for constantly reminding ourselves that the positive state of mind still pays dividends. Actual studies show that under proper directions, correctional schools do correct; that state and private training schools for the delinquent and maladjusted child do restore them to creative living. In this connection let me direct your attention again to the excellent paper by the Honorable Robert E. Coulson, as published in last year's Proceedings. This is not to deny that recidivism is prevalent, and that failures are legion. It is simply to say that such failures should challenge us and that such successes should encourage us.

These suggestions with which I have thus far dealt are but examples to illustrate the broad visioned quality of this California project. Every area affecting children and youth has been carefully scrutinized: the courts and probation services, law enforcement in all its aspects, schools, public welfare, commercial and public recreation, health services, needs and potentials for continuing research, and community organization.

This, however, is but one effort in one state. Ours is a national conference, concerned with the welfare of youth in every last nook and cranny of the land. Let us begin now to plan in keeping with this significant fact: All member organizations profiting from the achievements of each, each working for the advancement of all until finally our dream begins to assume the shape of reality; until we are in fact a national conference possessing a national headquarters, wielding the nation-wide influence of all those whose profession it is to work with and for youth.

THE EDUCATIONAL ASPECT

Theme: Problems in Correctional Education

I. SOURCES AND SELECTION OF INSTRUCTIONAL MATERIAL

Darwin E. Clay

IT is doubtful that anything startling or new can be added to that which is already known to most correctional educators as to sources and selection of instructional material. However, it is always a good subject for discussion and anything that may be said may be a challenge to a little thinking relative to the entire problem. Perhaps we can get the problem in the clear and focus it to a more practical solution.

Of course we have all read the article in the Number 2 issue of the *Journal of Correctional Education*, "Selecting Academic Educational Material," by Samuel Goldberg. We are thankful for this contribution and are anxiously waiting for the "Ten Foot Shelf." Undoubtedly a large amount of worth-while material has been prepared by correctional educators which would be a contribution, but, because of a certain personal modesty, we have heard little about; perhaps in the future our new *Journal of Correctional Education* will be of some help in this respect. In the same token, many of us have some definite ideas and would like to do something about it. But with limited staffs and a large volume of work have been unable to find the required time.

It is difficult to recommend criteria because of the many variable factors, such as: teaching load, type of teachers, educational objectives and budgets. There are institutions for juveniles, reformatories and adult prisons each with some sort of an educational program, but each with a problem requiring somewhat different instructional materials.

In our state, we have an adult prison with a population of 5,000 and three civilian teachers; a reformatory with a population of 1,200 and 16 civilian teachers. At the adult prison, almost all teaching is done by inmate teachers; at the reformatory, by civilian teachers. Certainly the instructional material used in these two institutions should be selected on the basis of the particular teaching problem.

A few years ago a visit was made to the federal reformatory at Chillicothe. We had heard so much about writing course material that we

fully expected to see something new. So we visited the vocational classes with this expectation. That which was saw spun us out of the clouds back to terra firma. The answer was, "Why should we spend valuable time attempting to write instructional material when there is so much that has been written and published by trained educators in the field." Of course, they had a large vocational library with many volumes referring the students to the exact reference or references, well-selected and pertaining to the problem at hand. This material had been previously selected by qualified teachers so that the problem could be quickly and simply solved by the student. There is a vast quantity of vocational material on the market, from the junior high school level to the graduate engineer. It is difficult to understand why we, as correctional educators, should be at all concerned about instructional materials in the vocational fields.

If we are searching for something specific, and money is available, many state agencies have published vocational lesson plans with job sheets and source materials. The California Department of State Education has done a remarkable job and it is understood that the New York State Department of Correction has been working on a similar type of material. We certainly should not neglect to mention the services rendered by correspondence schools, such as the I.C.S. Co-operative plan and the Rosenkranz Foundation Scholarships.

The academic field does present a little different problem. On the other hand, is it possible that we are not approaching the problem realistically? Are we aware of the vast amount of instructional material that has been published for the public schools for practically every individual need and educational objective? Material edited by educators trained in the science of challenging pupil interest, recognition of handicaps and desired motivation. There is an array of social and science readers beautifully illustrated and geared to the problems of the modern world; elementary mathematics that are functional and applicable to the everyday problems of living. Recently one of our psychologists inquired if the arithmetic in our early elementary grades was functional. My reply was, "We teach them how to use the tools, then how to build the house." There is a real need for drill and practice in the simple rudiments requiring only the material prepared by the teacher, with the use of blackboards and duplicators. A practical application is necessary as soon as the inmate is ready. Perhaps the project method has much to offer in our prison school programs.

In the beginner and near-illiterate groups, we have much the same problem as in the public schools as to the rapidity in which we can ac-

celerate in the use of new vocabulary. Of course, we do recognize that there may be many frustrations and blockings which may be the product of years of conditioning. The solution is not entirely the type of instructional material but the understanding guidance of a trained teacher. We often have inmates in our institutions with the capacity to do high school work, yet they can hardly read or write. There must be some physical or psychological reason for such retardation. Often these boys can read fluently for a sentence or two, after which they are unable to recall the most simple words, generally indicative of emotional blockings requiring the service of a special teacher and help from the institutional social clinic. Here again the type of instructional material used will depend so much upon the individual problem.

We have discovered early reading material designed for public schools which challenges the interest of the inmate and which is within his capacity to read. However, it is necessary to have many types of readers to overcome monotony. It is a mistake not to have many types of well-illustrated books of different reading levels to encourage voluntary reading. Likewise newspapers, pictorial magazines and comics may be helpful. In some instances, *My Weekly Reader*, a weekly newspaper published on each grade level, may serve as an excellent device.

You may know that a study was made by Max Cooper, psychologist in the New York Institution for Male Defective Delinquents, in which it was observed that the mentally retarded and delinquent adult beginner profited equally well with the use of the ordinary school primer and lesson units prepared for adults, that a group of individuals similar in all respects may be expected to gain in reading ability or more so than beginners in the elementary schools, regardless of the type of material used. Either type of material is effective with such individuals when individualized methods of instruction are used.

There is a report of this study in the "Diagnostic and Remedial Teaching in Correctional Institutions" by Price Chenault of New York State. Incidentally, this is a book to be recommended to every correctional educator.

Many institutions are offering courses on the secondary level. It is not difficult to locate instructional material for this purpose. With a little time and effort in course building, materials can be selected from many excellent textbooks designed for specific purposes. If it is necessary to enrich the course and to get certain desired results, parts of several texts may be used. It would seem undesirable to insist that inmates preparing on the secondary level should absorb large quantities of material which has little bearing on desired goals. Such irrelevant material is discouraging

and, when insisted upon only as a task, is without point. In this respect we can learn much about the selection of basic material and lesson planning from university and college courses.

In the final analysis, is there a definite answer to this problem of selecting instructional material? We do know there is an unlimited quantity of instructional material from many sources. Of course, the problem of how and what to select is important, but each institution presents such a different problem that it is difficult to do more than generalize. Perhaps our real problem is the preparation and presentation of the material.

THE EDUCATIONAL ASPECT

II. TRAINING THE INMATE FOR EMPLOYABILITY

Chester D. Owens

DR. BENJAMIN FRANK, our president, in offering the invitation to speak on the subject of "Training the Inmate for Employability," wrote as follows: "What I had in mind on this subject was what is needed in the training program in addition to academic training and training in trade and occupational skills which makes a person employable. This, of course, stresses the problems of personal and social adjustment in addition to turning out a skilled workman." If we think along with him a moment on this method of approach, through the limitation process we come to only two words in all of their denotation and connotation: *social education*.

The early literature in social education as written by MacCormick¹ and Kendall² has been added to by them and others. A committee of New York State correctional educators met at Elmira Reformatory over a year ago on the problem of social education, and, to guide them in their thinking, a preamble was prepared by Dr. Kendall on the need, purposes, philosophy, objectives, methods, et cetera, of social education in correctional institutions.³ Our journal, the *Journal of Correctional Education*, carried articles in the last year on the Army⁴ and the Navy⁵ correctional training programs and their use of social education in them. The former article states:

"As a general policy, the advanced general educational courses offered are selected to meet the individual needs of the prisoners enrolled. Each course contributes to the social adjustment or apparent need for specific knowledge on the part of the individual prisoner." The article on the Navy program informs us that their social education program is conducted primarily by the clinical psychologist and psychiatrist for a four weeks' term, and that the four main objectives of the courses briefly stated are (1) "To enable the psychologist to determine the individual adjustment of the men in terms of their aptitudes and abilities, their personal adjustment towards themselves, the Navy and to ordinary social situations, their own self-appraisal of present status and general life adjustment; (2) To develop the man's understanding of what is considered

adequate and inadequate behavior, with an attempt to arrive at an acceptable guide for conduct; (3) To improve the man's ability to live with himself, cope with daily social situations, to see things as they really are, and to accept other individuals with more understanding; (4) To help the men develop a better attitude towards the Navy, American ideals of democracy and rights and duties of citizenship."

The March, 1949, issue of *Federal Probation* has Clemmer's "A Beginning in Social Education in Correctional Institutions."⁸ Herein we find that five courses are offered in District of Columbia institutions. Their titles and instructors are:

- I. Some Principles of Human Behavior—psychologist;
- II. The Family and Home—the director of the four-institution department;
- III. Principles of Child Guidance—superintendent of the reformatory;
- IV. Organization of Community Life—supervisor of classification;
- V. Theories and Practice of Leisure Time—assistant superintendent of the reformatory.

These courses are presented year round, one day a week in the classrooms. Not every inmate is eligible. Attention is given to intelligence and few below an I.Q. of 90 are assigned. Other factors weighed are willingness, criminality, and participation in other educational and religious programs.

Our approach then, to our subject of "The Training of the Inmate for Employability," can be dramatically emphasized by stating that there is not a single correctional education administrator, who, after engaging in a "commencement" program of awarding diplomas, trade certificates, and awards, has not asked himself the question of whether these are the answer to an effectual correctional education program designed to aid the institution and the inmate in his post institutional life. Recently we held such a program at the Elmira Reformatory. Among others, there were awarded: sixteen high school equivalency diplomas, two college entrance diplomas, eight eighth grade diplomas, ten high school regents diplomas, eight trade certificates, four farm correspondence certificates from our state college of agriculture, and a correspondence certificate in radio and communications to an inmate studying under the GI Bill of Rights. Yet, a personal reaction was: How much, though, have these men learned about: themselves (their emotions, attitudes, human relations), community adjustments, inter-family relationships, their country and the strengthening of their loyalty to it, getting along with one's fellow workmen, economic problems, social hygiene, directing their ag-

gressions into acceptable channels, having the interests of one's employer at heart, keeping absenteeism at a minimum, et cetera? In a word, had they, of their own free will and accord, developed insights (economic, social, political, personal) which would enable them to function adequately in our highly competitive world?

So far we have skirted the periphery of this problem of "Training the Inmate for Employability." Let us relate our subject to the broader title of this panel, *Problems in Correctional Education*. What are the problems involved in setting up a social education program? A few could be listed as follows:

1. *The establishment of a philosophy of social education in each and every correctional institution.* As always, this must be defined in the terms of individual populations and institutions. However, we can definitely emphasize that this is an area of instruction which must be met sharply and realistically, for none of the educational efforts expended is as important as developing the social aspects of an inmate, and it should be reaffirmed here that every member of the institution staff must be held responsible to contribute either directly or indirectly to the socialization of inmates.

2. *Personnel is another problem.* Most teachers come to us with the idea of formalized education in mind. It takes considerable time to get them to think in terms of social education. Dr. Smiley Blanton, director of the psychiatric clinic of Marble Collegiate Church in New York City, in a popular article, "Where Do You Take Your Troubles," (*The American*, March, 1949) states that "Every school teacher, before she is assigned to a school, should be taught the elements of human nature and an understanding of the emotional problems that assail the growing child." Col. H. Edmund Bullis, executive director, Delaware State Society for Mental Hygiene, in his article,⁷ "The Child and his Mental Health in the Educational System," in our last issue of the *Journal of Correctional Education*, reminds us that "Successful preventive work in the field of emotional maladjustment must be carried on by those working closely and daily with children . . . teachers, school nurses, et cetera. Psychiatry should provide qualified experts to serve on a top-level policy planning group with public health leaders, educators, and others to outline a national, long-range effort for improved mental health—a truly preventive effort. Educators, because they have more contacts with boys and girls than does any other professional group, must take the responsibility for directing and operating this proposed preventive program."

Let us now translate this to the level of correctional educators. About a year ago I sent a letter to several prominent criminal psychiatrists,

seeking their assistance in examining a social education course we were preparing at Elmira Reformatory. I should state that we had no psychiatrist at the time. The opening paragraph stated, "We are interested in preparing a course of study for inmates in our Reformatory. The content is to cover materials on social problems including situations of tension, psychosomatic illnesses, resentment, rebellion against authority, hostility, sibling rivalry situations, et cetera. The course is to be taught by civilian teachers who are mature in thought and age, who have had considerable experience, and are capable of directing discussion to proper conclusions, et cetera. Actually what we hope to accomplish is to set up a course in which the teacher becomes a group psychotherapist." A couple of psychiatrists expressed interest and proffered their cooperation. They stressed the need for adequate preparation of correctional education personnel in the areas of human relationships and personality adjustment. So we raise the question, "can institution psychologists and psychiatrists give correctional educators short, intensive courses which, while adding to their already overburdened schedule, may in the long run reduce their case load, or lead to more meaningful referrals on the part of the teachers and better parole reports?"

3. *Appropriate materials is another problem.* What courses are to comprise the social education program? And then, having defined a course title and its component unit titles, each institution must prepare its own materials predicated on its needs and the needs of its population. While general instructional materials can and should be prepared through direction by a central education office, yet each institution must refine this work. Let us be specific: While a general course can be prepared such as *Institution and Parole Problems of Inmates*⁸ for orientation purposes, yet the problems of adjustment and matters of information for an inmate in a specific institution must be the content of a course prepared for that specific institution. An illustration of this is the *Orientation Course*⁹ as prepared at Elmira Reformatory with such unit titles as: The Reception Company; Disciplinary Procedure; Minor and Major Violations which Result in the Loss of Time; the Hospital, Locker Room and Bath; the Record Office; the Photo Gallery; Correspondence; Military Training; Mess Hall; Your Cell and Cell Hall; Religion; Barber Shop; the Service Unit; the Program Committee; the School Program; the Vocational Program; the Music Class; the Physical Education and Recreation Program; Institutional Education; Cleanliness; Commissary and Packages; Visits; Sick and Funeral Visits; The institution Library; Newspapers, Magazines and Books; Maintenance Work; Outside Gangs; Preparation of Food for the Mess Hall; War Veterans. As a result of

the introduction of our own orientation course, our superintendent, Col. Leroy Weaver, and assistant superintendent, Col. Wilson H. Dunn, advised our department that discipline reports in the institution were cut down drastically.

4. *The general organization of courses is another problem.* Closely related to our previous problem is the question of the general organization of courses. For how many weeks should these courses be offered? Should they be correlated? Should they be prepared on several levels of: vocabulary, difficulty of questions, amount of work to cover, et cetera? Should there be a core curriculum which all inmates should take regardless of I.Q., previous schooling, et cetera?

5. *The method of approach forms another problem.* We are not considering here the question of methods in education; rather to those indirect approaches by which many personnel contribute to the social education of inmates. Reference is here made to the numerous "conferences," interviews, et cetera, in which correctional workers engage to aid in the smooth functioning of an institution. A simple note on the results forwarded to the service unit for placing in the inmate's folder leads to the accumulation of pertinent information for the parole board. *Directly* in approach we find the organization of courses as previously referred to. Or, again, where counsellors or members of the program committee are each given responsibility, so far as getting information on individual cases is concerned, for proper referral to the program committee or to the person who can best aid in the problem at hand. Then, too, the flexibility of dropping the teaching of "content" momentarily, to attack asocial and antisocial attitudes as expressed in classes must be encouraged.

6. *Inmate population forms another problem.* Statistically we know that almost all of our penal population is to return to society some day. We cannot ignore the issue, then, that the organized program of social education in every institution must be for all levels of intelligence, with adaptations according to vocabulary, concrete and abstract reasoning ability, et cetera. If a core curriculum is presented, all inmates physically capable should engage in it. And it must cover from those who are absolute illiterates to those with some college experience.

We could consider other problems attendant to the question of the establishment of social education; as an illustration: the opportunity to put social concepts into practice, the general negativism of the correctional institution milieu, et cetera. This, however, can be the distillate of our discussion of the subject of "Training the Inmate for Employability:" notwithstanding the processing of an inmate who has learned

to be an excellent workman in one of our shops and who further prepared himself through correspondence education and our academic program, without development in the social field we have failed and he will fail on parole. Therefore, Mr. Chairman, I propose that the Correctional Education Association at this Congress put in motion the process by which: (1) either a yearbook such as previously published, or, (2) a monograph published through the *Journal of Correctional Education*, be prepared. Its title: "Social Education." Its content: the refinement of the thinking of the last 15 years on the subject. Its labor: to rest on our collective shoulders.

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THE EDUCATIONAL ASPECT
III. LIMITATIONS AND NEEDS
IN
CURRICULUM DEVELOPMENT

Samuel O. Satterfield

TO discuss the needs in curriculum development, it was necessary that I make up my mind whose needs or what needs I was to consider.

This discussion might be worthwhile and more interesting and concrete if the time were spent in discussing curriculum for meeting the needs of the *institution*.

Every prison needs clerks, cooks, butchers, bakers, welders, carpenters, and plumbers, not to mention electricians, coal heavers, dishwashers, janitors, farmers, and campers.

I have decided, however, to let the institutions shift for themselves for the moment, and consider this question of needs on the basis of the needs of the prison inmate. We have to admit that prisons are organized and maintained for the protection of society through the custody of the inmate. Is there really any thing else to it? Is there room in a close custody prison for rehabilitative measures? Are we kidding ourselves into believing that *curriculum* will give us an open sesame to our problem?

The men in prison have been exposed to curriculum, good curriculum, curriculum devised by experts who have spent many lifetimes studying its problems. The universities and colleges provide more of this well organized curriculum for our students in prison through extension division courses.

These students of ours have been exposed, but it has not taken. So I am charged with the responsibility of giving you a new curriculum in three easy lessons, or of standing here and prattling about those courses with which we are all familiar.

It took society a long time to shape the individual prisoner, and it will take a considerable amount of time and some careful and wise handling to reshape him into something useful and acceptable to society.

Since I am trying to consider this problem of needs in curriculum development as the needs of the inmates, it might be well to list some of them.

The individual needs of inmates are probably as numerous as inmates,

but it is not impossible to list a few needs which they seem to have in common.

The inmate needs to be able to recognize and understand his potential worth. He needs to know his special abilities and aptitudes. He needs to know which doors are *open* to him as an *exconvict*. He has been told of the doors which are closed. He has been reminded of his shortcomings. He needs to know what are his good points.

The inmate needs knowledge of the procedure he must follow to bring about his reformation. He has been watched by prison officials and guards. He has been told what not to do. *But who has told him what he should do?*

The inmate needs to develop the ability and the desire to change his mind, his habits, and his attitudes. The misconceptions of the individual's relationship to society, government, and honest work, and the inability of the individual to change his mind about it, seems to afford a tremendous field for experimentation.

The inmate needs to develop a "case hardening" against the term, "exconvict." If he is to remain an *ex-convict* he must realize the fact and accept as fact that he has been in prison and that wishful thinking will not turn time backward. He must arrange to live with the situation in the same manner as the man who has lost an arm must learn to live without it.

The inmate needs to face reality and the ability to reason; he needs to know the meaning of rationalization and be able to tell the two apart.

The inmate needs an acceptable character. To be acceptably honest and trustworthy. He needs to respect women and be trusted with small children. This is doubly difficult, because so many people who have never been caught need the same thing.

The inmate needs a healthy and honorable attitude toward honest work and wholesome recreation.

The inmate needs to know the meaning of discipline as opposed to punishment, and he needs to understand and practice discipline as it applies to self.

That the inmate needs include educational proficiency as well cannot be denied. No doubt your meetings have been taken up with discussions of which particular courses *should* be presented.

It is needless to repeat what you have already said about the value of academic courses; the three R's for the illiterates and the correspondence courses for those who cannot be helped by our inmate teachers are essentials.

Whatever these standard, informational courses are called—whether

they be strictly academic or semi-vocational—they should be short courses, organized as units, that start at a definite point and end at a definite place. They must be as functional as the literacy program, and the inmate must feel a need for the knowledge to be gained by working at them. He must be expected to complete them once started—not lured away from his purpose by dangling in front of him a job with more prison prestige.

Now that I have listed some of the needs of inmates, I should like to suggest that our curriculum be arranged to meet these needs.

The prison schools have probably done an excellent job of teaching the three R's, but they have not eliminated the fourth R—the *Repeater*. It *must* be time for the prison school master to develop courses which will teach moral values, civic responsibilities, healthy and wholesome attitudes and those habits and attributes which contribute to the development of acceptable characteristics.

It is time for the prison curriculum to contain courses which will help the inmate (1) learn to control his temper, (2) get along with others, (3) solve his problems sanely and sensibly, (4) meet his difficulties, and (5) get the respect of his wife and children.

It is time for the prison curriculum to contain courses which will help the inmate meet the needs which will make him acceptable to society and, just as important, make society acceptable to him. Since it is impossible to change society, it is imperative that the inmate be changed.

The *outstanding* needs in this whole problem—inmate need or not—is a desire on the part of the various state welfare departments, division of correction directors, senate appropriation committees and prison administrators for a functional and effective educational program in prisons. When these four groups are working together and coordinating their activities with their desires, those things which limit curriculum development will cease to exist—and Heaven must be on the side of the prison educator who has been leading his board to believe that the school can meet its requirements with no equipment, no teachers and no student requirements.

Now that I have listed an outstanding need, and it has developed in spite of me into one of the outstanding factors that limit curriculum development, I shall continue a discussion of the limitations in this development.

The prison curriculum is limited by a great many other things. The attitude of the inmate "big shot," who will show no weakness by attending school; the attitude of the prison official that his trade will keep the inmate occupied and therefore out of trouble; the belief of the prison

official that the school is not technical enough and consequently no good; the attitude of the prison guard who is sure that the inmate attends school to keep from doing his assigned work; and the reaction of the inmate who is left to do the work himself and says, "I'll get that son of a gun if he don't quit leaving me here to do all this work by myself"—all are limiting factors in curriculum development. Under pressure of this kind, the student in prison quits school. If his character were strong enough to withstand this type of treatment, he would not be in prison.

If we were to list those things which limit the development of curriculum in the prison program it would surely include:

1. Lack of budget for equipment, materials, and teachers.
2. Lack of qualified educational personnel interested in prison work at present salaries.
3. Inexperienced personnel-inmate teachers who are untrained and not greatly interested because teaching holds no future for them, anyway—is it fair to take the best minds in the prison and use them for institutional purposes only?
4. Lack of confidence of inmates in their buddies as teachers. One inmate will believe his fellow inmate's every word and even follow some of his advice, repeat his rumors, and sing his praises in the recreation yard. Transfer this same inmate to the prison school as teacher and his authenticity is "gone with the wind." The one-time booster is now a knocker and the program has been sabotaged by the very effort to make it strong.
5. Constant turnover of inmate teacher personnel.
6. Rapid turnover of students and transfers on a maintenance basis without consideration of need for school participation.
7. Lack of interest on the part of the inmate in "stretching" his mind through study.
8. A lack of specific evidence that prison schools are worthwhile as rehabilitative medium.
9. Prison educators have a tendency to limit curriculum by inferring in their publicity that the questions have been answered and the job is being done effectively and well.
10. The development is limited by the fear of adverse publicity—such as an accusation of pampering or coddling the inmates if emphasis is placed on anything but severe treatment.
11. Lack of teaching materials available which will meet adult needs and interests.
12. Prison tradition and inertia. "It has always been thus, why change it now?"

There is probably more that could be added to this list. It is possible that some should be taken away.

It will take a certain amount of boldness or nerve for the prison educator to go ahead in the face of some of the obstacles which seem to be placed in the way of a new idea or procedure, but these "stoppers" must be removed.

The prison educator must take the lead in showing a sincerity of purpose. He must be able to prove his sincerity by withstanding the barbs of the second-guessers and the nonbelievers.

Our prison schools will not be any better than we say they are until these limitations *have* been removed. If the prison school is to be something more than a factor in morale to make custody easier, we must meet some of these inmate needs which I have pointed out.

There must be a unification of purpose on the part of *all* departments. There can be no effective curriculum in any prison school where any of the departments are working at cross purposes. The entire personnel of the prison must be diligently working together for the reformation or rehabilitation of the prisoner before we can brag that we have even *scratched* the surface.

THE EDUCATIONAL ASPECT

Theme: The Library as An Educational Center

I. PENAL INSTITUTION LIBRARIES IN THE UNITED STATES

Edwin I. Friedman

BEFORE an adequate appraisal of the library as an educational center can be made, it is necessary to get a clear picture of the present status of libraries in penal institutions. We all talk about the libraries in our prisons, but how many of us really know what those libraries are like? Do we really know whether they are adequate for the needs of the inmates? Do we know whether we have good or bad libraries, or if bad, what their shortcomings are and what can be done to overcome them. It may shock some of us to find out how poor some libraries are when compared to acceptable standards. Therefore, if we are to discuss the library as an educational center, it would certainly be wise to find out of what we speak.

Fortunately, we have available a study just completed by the Committee on Institution Libraries of the American Prison Association that gives us the most comprehensive picture ever made of penal institution libraries in the United States. The study, unfortunately, is far too long to present in its entirety. However, a summary of its findings will suit our purpose.

The survey of penal institution libraries, just completed, presents information secured through a questionnaire sent to 287 institutions, both state and federal. Its purpose is to present an up-to-date picture of prison libraries to the prison field and to make recommendations for their improvement in the hope that prison administrators, educators, and librarians will be aided in guiding their libraries into improved programs. The recommendations for improvement are based on the "Objectives and Standards for Libraries in Adult Prisons and Reformatories," approved and adopted by the American Prison Association in 1943.

All types of institutions, from maximum security for older adult offenders to camps and schools for juveniles, were canvassed. Replies were received from 120 state institutions—or 48 per cent of all those contacted—and from 28 federal institutions—or 77.8 per cent. Thus, out of 287 institutions contacted, 148 or 51.6 per cent, provided the information requested in the questionnaire. Considering that the survey was con-

ducted by mail only, the response was exceptionally good, and was both large enough and comprehensive enough in coverage to make this study valid. Therefore, the facts concerning prison libraries presented can be considered as accurately portraying the situation that now exists.

There was such a great variation in the sizes and types of the reporting institutions that it was advisable to consider them according to general-size groups, analyzing those of approximately the same size and type as a group, and then comparing the groups with one another. Therefore, the institutions were considered in the following groups: (1) juvenile institutions, (2) small adult institutions (under 500 population), both state and federal, and (3) large adult institutions (over 500 population), both state and federal.

First, let us summarize the findings on institution libraries for juveniles. Nearly all juvenile institutions have libraries, but 60 per cent do not meet the minimum standards for an adequate book collection for the needs of their inmates. About the same percentage do not meet the standard for content of book collection, but many of those that fail to do so were not very far off the standard and could reach it within a short time. Most libraries are making constant additions to the book collection and appear to be building them up. A major fault of many libraries is the failure to cull obsolete and unusable reading matter regularly, with a resultant loss of effectiveness of the collection. Practically all have some type of reading matter other than books, such as magazines, newspapers, pamphlets, et cetera. Most are doing a good job in supplying newspapers and magazines to their inmates, but they are not making adequate use of other types of collections such as pamphlets, pictures, and other visual aids.

Nearly all libraries for juveniles appear to have qualified personnel in charge, that is, qualified through having a bachelor degree. However, only 21 per cent have librarians with a library science degree, or a bachelor degree and special library training. Over one-half the librarians have been in charge for at least three years or more, and apparently many qualify through experience if not through training.

The libraries for juveniles are surprisingly lax in the use of inmate help. The majority use less than two inmates and a large number do not use any at all. Those that use inmate help, use it sparingly, with only four librarians working their inmates a full 40-hour week.

These institutions fare very little better with their librarians in that very few of them devote a full 40-hour week to library duties. The majority work less than one-half a week at library tasks and spend the remainder of their time at school work or other assignments.

Most libraries have adequate reading rooms, with the majority pro-

viding reading rooms considerably above minimum standards. The majority have sufficient book capacity for their population.

The libraries are open enough days a week—a minimum of five—to meet the standard, but are not open sufficient hours per day. The majority are open six hours a day, compared to a standard of ten, and are open between 30 and 40 hours a week. Inmates are allowed to visit the library in all juvenile institutions. In the majority of instances, the inmates are given sufficient time for their visits to take care of their needs. About 90 per cent of inmates make use of the libraries.

The libraries for juveniles are particularly poor at keeping circulation statistics and only a few reported fairly complete and accurate figures. The majority reported a circulation of 20 books per inmate each year. The general average circulations were 77 per cent fiction and 23 per cent non-fiction—a normal circulation. A few reported circulation statistics on magazines, newspapers, pamphlets, maps, and loans to the staff, but not enough replies were received to be able to draw any general conclusions.

Bindery work is almost non-existent and only one library in this group has a bindery—but unfortunately no record of its work was kept.

Just 16 libraries, or a little over one-third, in the juvenile class, have definite budgets. Twelve of these have budgets of one dollar or more per inmate per year, adequate according to the standard, with the average approximating two dollars. Most budgets are for books and magazines, with a few having allotments for newspapers and pamphlets.

Most libraries indicate a close relationship with the school, with a large number being supervised by the head of the school.

The second group of libraries studied contains those in small adult institutions.

All institutions in this group have libraries in some form or other. Sixty-three per cent of the state and 87 per cent of the federal libraries meet or exceed minimum standards as to the proper size book collections. Unfortunately, only 38 per cent of the state and 50 per cent of the federal libraries' book collections are in balance. Many that are out of balance are only slightly so, and can be brought into balance quickly and without much effort. The majority of the libraries are making good progress in building up their collections and have done a more satisfactory job in general than those in the juvenile institutions. About one-half are discarding regularly their obsolete and worn-out books. All but a few have collections of other types of reading matter than books. The use of magazines and newspapers is generally quite good, but the use of other reading matter, such as pamphlets, pictures, maps, and visual material, is poor.

A large number are adding many books to their collections yearly, and with the proper culling out of unsatisfactory reading matter periodically, most libraries should reach minimum standards in time. In comparison with libraries for juveniles, it appears that those in small adult institutions are making more satisfactory progress in building up their collections. There is, however, still considerable room for improvement.

A little over one-half the librarians in small adult institutions are qualified educationally through having a bachelor degree, to head a library. However, only one has a degree in library science. Many of the librarians have had a considerable amount of experience and although some may not qualify through education, they can do so through experience.

Small adult institution libraries make better use of inmate help than those in institutions for juveniles, but there is still room for much improvement. Few use more than two inmates and very few inmates work a full 40-hour week. However, it is apparent that many libraries are striving toward a 40-hour week and that their inmate help will soon be working that much time.

The librarians in this group devote more time to library duties than do those in institutions for juveniles. The vast majority spend over half their time on library duties and many spend full time. Additional duties of most librarians are mainly educational in nature, but some work as hospital attendants, identification officers, guards, and chaplains.

The physical library plants are not as satisfactory as those for juveniles. Only 27 of 45 libraries have reading rooms. Most of these reading rooms are large enough to seat an adequate number. The majority either meet or exceed minimum standards for book capacity. In general, the federal institution libraries have better plants than the state.

Small adult institution libraries are open more days per week, on an average, than those in institutions for juveniles. Only a few are open sufficient hours per day to meet the standard of ten. Most are open eight hours per day and between 33 and 40 hours per week—somewhat more hours than in libraries for juveniles. Inmate visits are allowed in most, but the over-all picture is not as good as that in libraries for juveniles. Most inmates are given sufficient time in their visit for their needs. Between 70 and 75 per cent of the inmates use the libraries, not as good as found in libraries for juveniles.

Circulation statistics were more complete, and more reports were received, than from institutions for juveniles. The number of books circulated per inmate in state libraries ranged from a low of three to a high of 94, and 76 per cent of all circulation was fiction. The federal libraries

circulated from eight to 136 books to each inmate, and their over-all circulation was 74 per cent fiction. Most circulated an average of 35 books per inmate. The majority circulated their books in the correct proportion. Twenty libraries reported magazine circulation figures, most showing excellent use. Reports of circulation of other types of reading matter were rather sketchy but indicated some use of them. Some loans to the staff were reported, with a few libraries quite active in that respect.

Eleven libraries in this group report having binderies. Most operate with merely one or two inmate workers and apparently very little vocational training is being done in them. These libraries do excellent work and almost all report a very good output of repairing and rebinding.

Just 27 libraries, or about one-half, in this group have budgets. Nineteen of that number have allotments of one dollar or more per inmate, the standard. The average budget is approximately \$1.25 for the state and \$1.33 for the federal. Most use all their funds for books and magazines, but a few report some allotments for pamphlets, newspapers, and other types of reading matter.

The relationship between the library and the school is not as close among libraries in the small adult institutions as in those for juveniles. Many more librarians in this group are supervised by others than the head of the school. Here, in some cases, the library becomes a distinct unit from the school.

Let us now summarize the findings on the last group studied—the libraries in the large adult institutions. All but one institution in this group have libraries in some form or other. Only 17.5 per cent of the state and 38.5 of the federal meet or exceed the minimum standard for adequate size of the book collections—indeed a very low average. The picture improved somewhat when it was found that 59 per cent of the state and 45.5 of the federal libraries' book collections are in balance. The big majority receive book additions but far too many are dependent on gifts. Definite progress is being made in building up most of the collections but a long road has to be traveled by many before minimum standards can be reached. Nearly all libraries are weeding out unsatisfactory books regularly and are striving to keep their collections up to date. The majority make extensive use of magazines and newspapers, with many receiving large numbers of gifts. Some use is being made of pamphlets, maps, pictures and visual aid materials, but not enough.

The largest number of trained librarians is found in the libraries in this group. Eight state and seven federal librarians have library science degrees. Approximately two-thirds of all librarians have college degrees and many have some training in library work. A goodly number who fail

to qualify through education can do so through experience. Although the situation is improved over what it was a few years ago, there is still room for further improvement, since not more than one-half the libraries have qualified persons in charge.

Inmate help is almost universally used. More inmates are used in each library, and they work more hours per week, than in any of the previous groups noted. Most use at least four inmates and work them between 40 and 44 hours, on an average, a week.

The librarians spend more of their work-week with library duties than do those in the other groups studied. A majority work a full 40-hour week in the library and many work more hours than that. A large number have no extra duties at all. Those who do have extra duties, list some as educational, inmate radio committee, censor, mimeograph work, et cetera.

In considering the physical plants, it was found that 29 out of 40 state libraries do not have reading rooms, while on the other hand, 13 out of 14 federal libraries do. Most reading rooms meet the demand for standard seating capacity. The majority of the libraries have sufficient book capacity for their needs. In general, the large adult institution libraries have the poorest physical plants for their needs, of all groups.

The libraries are open enough days per week to meet the standard. A few are open 10 hours a day but the big majority fail to meet that standard. Most are open eight hours per day, the same number as those in small institutions. The average number of hours each library operates is 42 a week, the best of all groups. A large majority of those libraries with reading rooms allow inmate visits, with most allowing sufficient time for inmate needs. However, it must be borne in mind that since most libraries do not have reading rooms, the majority of all inmates cannot visit the library at all. Just 60 per cent of the state and 80 per cent of the federal inmates use their libraries. The amount of inmate library use seems to drop steadily as the size of the institution and the age of the offenders housed increases.

Circulation statistics are good and far better than those maintained by the libraries in other groups. Most state libraries circulated less than 30 books per inmate, with a few circulating as high as 40 or more a year. The majority of the federal libraries circulated approximately 40 books per inmate. The general average circulation among state libraries was 76 per cent fiction, the same as among small adult state institutions. The federal library average circulation was 70 per cent fiction. No study was made at this time as to why there was so appreciable a difference in the percentage of average circulation of fiction and non-fiction between state

and federal libraries. Most libraries have very high magazine circulation, with yearly figures running up to 300,000. Newspaper circulation figures were not so universally reported, but many libraries show amazing figures, with one reporting a circulation of 500,000. Pamphlets, pictures, and map circulation figures were reported by a few, but as a rule none of the collections were very active. In many cases the institution staffs are very actively patronizing their libraries.

Thirty-four libraries in large adult institutions have binderies, by far the largest number of any group. Most operate with two or less inmates and do very little vocational training. Excellent work, by volume, is turned out by most binderies, apparently at considerable saving to the institution.

Only 34 libraries, or a little over one-half, have budgets—a disappointingly small number. The average budget among the state institutions is between \$.38 and \$.44 per inmate, while among the federal, is between \$1.06 and \$1.20. Most institutions allot their funds for the purchase of books and magazines only, but some have funds for newspapers and other types of reading matter.

Many of the libraries are distinct units from the school. In most cases, a close relationship is maintained between the library and the school and many librarians are supervised by the head of the school. However, in many institutions, the library becomes a distinct entity and takes on the activities, to some extent, of civilian public libraries.

This completes a summary of the findings on the three groups of libraries, group by group. However, there are several findings applying to all groups, that we should note.

In the matter of statistics, it was found that a large number of libraries do not keep statistics at all, and that many of those that do, do so inadequately. Many kept incomplete records, and still others admitted their records were probably inaccurate.

Just 10 out of 130 libraries report meeting the standard for circulation regulations of allowing the inmates to take out as many books as they desire. Most limit book withdrawals to around two at a time. The circulation regulations, in the main, for book borrowing are not very liberal and could do with some revision. Nearly all libraries limit magazine circulation, as well as other types of reading matter, to one at a time. Most allow inmates to retain their books either one week in some libraries or two weeks in others, with magazines being circulated anywhere from three days to a week. Only 48 libraries are making use of inter-library loans. Over half of the 48 received anywhere from 200 to 1200 loans last year.

Very little information on reference work was elicited, with 93 libraries failing to reply to questions concerning it. Twenty-five admitted that they did not do any reference work. Many stated that it was all done by the school. A few compiled book lists and prepared courses of study, but the big majority did not do such work.

Most libraries, 92 out of 148, carry on routine services. However, quite a few do render some extra services, such as special holiday programs, plays, musical programs, editing the school paper, teaching illiterates, holding discussion groups, and other activities. It is questionable whether some of the services rendered belong under the head of library activity.

There is a great deal of room for improvement in the budgetary situation. The majority of the libraries either have no budget or have budgets entirely too small for their needs. Until adequate funds are forthcoming regularly, it is almost certain that libraries without such funds will continue to be inadequate for the needs of their inmates.

A little less than one-half the libraries made no improvements whatsoever this past year, other than additions of reading matter. It is encouraging to find that more and more libraries are adopting the Dewey Decimal Classification System. Improvements reported by some libraries were the addition of new shelving, new quarters, new furniture, added equipment and expanded programs. Many libraries made excellent progress and are to be commended.

Before closing I would like to take the liberty of quoting from some comments received regarding the situation in some of the libraries. These comments indicate the contrasting situations between some libraries and differences in the philosophy of library usage.

From an Illinois institution: "Collection sorely in need of additional non-fiction of educational nature; 95 per cent non-fiction books are obsolete and in deplorable physical condition; library is totally without resources to purchase used fiction and non-fiction books at low cost." From Maryland: "No budgetary allowance and no professional librarian. Books distributed to inmates from the library weekly. Clerical work being done by inmate, supervised by office personnel. Books purchased by funds made from craft sales and by book donation." From North Carolina: "Our library is in an attractive room, arranged as much like a living-room as possible. The books and magazines are on open shelves to which the boys have free access. The chairs are comfortable. The boys are always welcomed. The whole atmosphere tends to persuade them to enjoy reading and to accept responsibility concerning the care of everything in the room."

In conclusion, we can say with confidence that our libraries are making definite progress and in time will meet the needs of all inmates. Some libraries, in both large and small institutions, are quite poor and fall far short of meeting the minimum standards proposed in the "Objectives." Others are making excellent progress and already exceed minimum standards. The general picture shows steady improvement and tremendous advances have been made over the libraries of several years back. More and more prison administrators are awakening to the value of a good prison library and are fulfilling their responsibilities in providing adequate libraries for the inmates.

From the picture just presented we can now evaluate more satisfactorily the library as an educational center.

THE EDUCATIONAL ASPECT

II. THE LIBRARY AN EDUCATIONAL CENTER AS VIEWED BY A CORRECTIONAL EDUCATOR

Price Chenault

A REVIEW of what has been said at previous meetings like this one, plus a review of various reports by committees and commissions who have directed their attention to the improvement of library facilities in correctional institutions, convinces me that anything I may say today has already been said in a more effective way than is possible for me to say it. Consequently, my efforts in preparing this paper have been directed toward re-emphasizing some of the things that have already been stated which stand as a matter of record for use by those who desire to provide good libraries in correctional institutions.

A few days ago, there came to my desk a paper which affords me a springboard for what I am to say. This statement was prepared by an inmate who is now confined in an institution for mental defectives.

"I think that I received a break in some respects in coming to prison, due to the fact that under the stress of housing and living problems in conjunction with family obligations, I would never have approached the field of education. An inmate with an education has at least one of the best qualities of a citizen, that of being able to differentiate between the wrong way of life and the way of life that brings pleasure to himself, his neighbors and his community. It holds true of not only ex-convicts but of society also that an enlightened citizen is an asset to our country. James Monroe once stated a fact that very adequately covers my viewpoint, 'A free, virtuous, and enlightened people must know well the great principles and causes on which their happiness depends.' To put a stop to the rapid increase of crime throughout the United States, I think more stringent rules should be exercised in our schools; for instance, at least the completion of high school before a pupil is allowed to go on his own, also that everyone should take an interest in the juvenile delinquency situation, actively, with their own children. Give them a little friendship and advice. Neglect is one of the predominating factors that leads children to the ways of crime."

This inmate has made a beautiful case indirectly for institution libraries. Someone has said that education is the introduction of control into experience and that education is the most direct method of giving purpose to experience. I subscribe fully to this definition of education as I think of it in a correctional institution. According to the New York State

Correction Law:

"The objective of prison education in its broadest sense should be the socialization of the inmates through varied impressional and expressional activities, with emphasis on individual inmate needs. The objective of this program shall be the return of these inmates to society with a more wholesome attitude toward living, with a desire to conduct themselves as good citizens and with the skill and knowledge which will give them a reasonable chance to maintain themselves and their dependents through honest labor."

The correctional institution library is a facility affording a special type of service which operates in a unique setting where distractions from the outside world are almost absent, at least seemingly so. In this setting, incentives to self improvement through education, particularly reading, may become very powerful. A well-run institution library certainly has a major contribution to make to any carefully thought out definition of education. Unless it introduces some controls into education of the individuals using it, it has missed a golden opportunity. There are some specific objectives which may be stated as follows:

1. To afford recreational reading opportunities of a wholesome nature.
2. To serve as a convenient and reliable source of supplementary information required by instructors of courses offered by the educational program.
3. To provide reference material for research projects which may be undertaken by either inmates or staff members of the institution.
4. To provide an opportunity to observe and study inmates during their unguarded moments.

Today one hears a great deal about individualization of treatment. In some correctional systems, individualization of treatment is becoming more than just a high sounding phrase to be thrown around when one desires to make a favorable impression. Those correctional systems that are really striving to put correctional work on an "individualization of treatment basis" perhaps without realizing it, are making a good case for the need for a complete and well operated institution library. "Individualization of treatment" suggests that first of all the institution personnel who come in contact with the inmate must know him, and secondly they must strive to help meet the needs and interests of the whole individual (within limits of course). Where programs have been established which aim to place the inmate at the center of things; examining, testing, and questioning take place until a good case of immunity sets in. Too often the need is overlooked for a laboratory where the inmate may be observed during his unguarded moments. The right kind of a library

in an institution affords one of the best opportunities to gain valuable knowledge about inmates which cannot be obtained by examining, testing and questioning.

"Anything to keep them busy," is an expression familiar to all of us. This point of view unquestionably has some merit for those responsible for control of inmate populations. We know by experience that keeping 'em busy does eliminate some trouble. How much more valuable it would be to keep them busy at purposeful activities. For a great many inmates during a lot of their time there is but one way of providing purposeful experiences, and that is by making available good library facilities.

It is well known that people generally are emotionally, rather intellectually, controlled a great deal of their time. This is particularly true of inmate populations. To arouse the intellects of some inmates, there must be clearly defined goals which can be seen by them, and strived for in a friendly environment. Even in the best organized correctional institution, it is not easy to provide a friendly environment for inmates. The very nature of a correctional institution, where custody and discipline are of primary importance, makes it difficult to provide a friendly environment. Consequently, those areas of the institution wherein it is possible to provide a friendly and more unrestrained environment should be given special attention. The areas of the institution that come to mind are the recreational field, a classroom, vocational shops, the chapel, the auditorium, the gymnasium and the library. It is in these areas of the institution that an atmosphere conducive to commonly accepted procedures in rehabilitation may be provided without jeopardizing the basic purpose of a correctional institution. The importance of these areas of the institution for bringing about sound thinking and developing skills is intended in no way to minimize the rehabilitative potentialities in all other areas of the institution where inmates are found. For the adult institution, where the overwhelming percentage of the population has passed that stage in life where a lot of vigorous physical activity is desired or necessary, the institution library may well be the one spot where a worthwhile purposeful activity may be sought in a friendly environment by a large percentage of the inmate population. If I had the knowledge and the command of the English language to make a better case for the correctional institution library, I would do so.

There are many problems involved in making the institution library an educational center. Time will permit little more than a brief outline of these problems. The method of the institution library should be largely the voluntary method of adult education, not the method of conscription which is characteristic of education designed for children and early

adolescence. The institution library must provide what the inmate wants or what he can be persuaded to want, otherwise it loses him. Altogether too much emphasis has been placed on what not to make available in an institution library rather than on what to make available. Those responsible for institutional facilities have been too prone to feel that their library needs can be met by accepting as gifts the relics from attics and bookshelves provided by good intentioned individuals or organizations. Even these books and periodicals are carefully scrutinized by some well meaning employe, to make sure that certain pictures, stories, and philosophies are deleted from the donations. So long as the library item is red penciled at budget time, the true significance of the institution library in the total program of rehabilitation will never be known.

One of the first problems confronted in trying to provide an adequate institution library hinges on the lack of facilities. The library space is usually inadequate, unattractive and poorly located. Makeshift equipment including bookshelf and display space, reading tables and chairs are unattractive, uncomfortable and situated where only those with perfect eyes read with any degree of efficiency or satisfaction. It is needless to review the conditions surrounding the lack of reading matter, whether it be periodicals of a cultural, professional or recreational nature, or books covering similar areas. In none of these areas are the materials adequate in scope to meet the needs. Neither have they been selected on the basis of acceptable criteria, or cared for so that they are physically attractive.

In most institutions, the routine and regulations are not conducive to optimum use of the library. People on the outside who use libraries routinely, browse through the bookshelves and periodical rooms. They seek the services of the readers' advisor and if they check books out they usually have an opportunity to read them in an easy chair at home under a good light. I do not recommend that the cells of inmates be equipped with easy chairs and fluorescent lights. I also know that it is impractical to think that inmates can be permitted to wander to and from the library at will. It may be just as impractical to suggest that a well qualified readers' advisor be provided in the library. Somewhere between the two extremes is the possibility of a library program which would make possible the achievement of some of the desired goals. I believe that it is possible in most institutions to locate the library and modify institution routine so that inmates may be permitted to visit the library, browse and counsel with someone about their reading interests or lack of interests without creating any particular disciplinary or escape problems.

Those enthusiastic about the rehabilitative possibilities of a correctional institution library must not lose sight of a prevailing philosophy around some institutions which is not conducive to inmates forming good reading habits. Too often remarks are made by unthinking officials which have disparaging or discouraging effects on those inmates who think they may want to take advantage of education, including the extensive use of the library. This philosophy or procedure is changing, primarily, because adults generally are realizing that a successful and happy individual must continue his education throughout life.

Too often the library, particularly in the juvenile reformatory type institution, is looked upon as a dumping spot where inmates otherwise unoccupied are tucked away for safe keeping. In such institutions, visitors are usually reminded that there is no idleness; inmates are all occupied either at work assignments or in the educational program. However, these same visitors are not conducted through the library, for the official knows that a large otherwise idle group is assigned to the library where, in reality, nothing but idleness is possible.

Unfortunately teachers, whether they be civilian or inmate, often contribute little to encouraging inmates to make full use of the library. They neither use it themselves to good advantage nor do they lead others to it. A truly successful institutional library needs the support and backing of the entire personnel, particularly the educational personnel.

The most important problem of all in providing adequate library facilities is that of providing a librarian who is thoroughly trained in library sciences and who also has the other attributes of a good institution employe. We know from example that any of the seemingly insurmountable hurdles have been met successfully where a fully qualified, enthusiastic librarian has been engaged. It is a costly mistake to have the institution library operated by the kind of individuals that are usually in charge. They might be efficient institution employes in the task for which they were employed, but being given a library assignment for which they have no interest or qualification, their services slip to the lowest level of performance.

So far this report has been concerned with the philosophy and need for institution libraries, followed by brief enumerations of some of the problems which prevent institution libraries from becoming the forces for rehabilitation that they might be. Some of the recommendations I have to make have already been implied.

1. There should be a centrally located library in which very careful planning has been done so that a desirable library atmosphere is obvious the minute one enters. To provide such a library is no easy task now, for

most institutions gave little or no thought to library facilities when the institution was built. In looking to the future, new building programs should place on the priority list facilities for a library which would measure up to acceptable standards. In planning the educational building, the library might well be the center or point of departure in developing building plans.

2. Surveys have shown that practically all institutions have libraries. There are few if any of them that could not be greatly improved without excessive cost by providing open shelves and browsing rooms, attractive display cases and bulletin boards, comfortable chairs and suitable reading tables with lighting that conforms to modern standards of lighting, and a system of checking books and periodicals in and out which would give maximum use and care of the facilities.

3. One of the frequently stated goals for correctional work is "preparation for life on the outside." It would be difficult to find an area where direct training might be put to greater use on the outside than that resulting from the inculcation of attitudes and skills which would make parolees frequent visitors to public libraries on the outside. Too often institution library standards in no way conform to acceptable standards on the outside. Every effort should be made to bridge the gap between institution standards of library services and those encountered on the outside.

4. At least a dollar per year per inmate should be provided in the annual budget for the purchase of books, periodicals, and other materials. I don't know why I propose a dollar, except that this amount has been recommended by committees and authorities in the field of correctional work. I am sure that in some situations a dollar is not sufficient to bring the library services up to a defensible level. I doubt, however, if a dollar is too large an expenditure for any institution library.

5. The librarian should be a college trained person who has specialized in library sciences. First of all they must know books and the language of books. In the most useful and successful institution library, the librarian or readers' advisor must be able to estimate inmate needs and provide a reading program which he thinks will meet those needs satisfactorily. He must be one who is willing and able to maintain continuous personal contact with the reader so that obstacles and widening interests can be dealt with successfully. The readers' advisor or institution librarian is a teacher in the true sense of the term who cannot organize his students into classes because of the distinct differences and individual problems. He must be a good judge of human nature and thoroughly familiar with the educational values of purposeful reading and study.

To find a person with these qualifications is no easy task.

Nothing is being said in this paper about the ratio of librarians to inmates. The first task is to get one well qualified librarian in each of our institutions. Once that goal has been achieved, it will be much easier to get a second and even a third librarian. Finally, it goes without saying that the basic aims of the library are the same as the general aims for education. Many individuals may have gained the impression that the library and the other educational opportunities of the institution are two special and distinct agencies of institutional rehabilitation, because of the pioneering activities and pronouncements of the Committees Libraries on Education and of the American Prison Association. In making these comments, I do not wish to take credit from either committee, because both have made very valuable and significant contributions in recent years to the development of educational work in correctional institutions. I believe the time has arrived when those interested in correctional education and library service join hands on a national basis. It seems to be imperative in an institution situation that the two groups work together if maximum achievements are to be realized in working toward the goals of rehabilitation. The library should be regarded as an integral part of the educational and recreational facilities of an institution. The administrative head of all these should be a director or supervisor of education who is well enough trained and big enough to give the leadership and encouragement in all areas of education and recreation so that the maximum contribution of each will be made. Better library services can be provided for, if the director of education takes the responsibility for fighting some of the battles that must be fought for an institution library as well as other educational facilities. Generally speaking, the head of the educational program occupies a relationship in the institution which makes it easier for library needs to be considered by the top administrative authorities. He is apt to have more knowledge of administrative matters pertaining to budgeting, scheduling, discipline, approaches to securing facilities and the like. The person who is well trained in library sciences has probably not had the interest or the time to become thoroughly familiar with administrative procedures. Consequently he had better be placed in a position where he can confine his thoughts and energies to books and inmate reading. In recommending that the library be made officially an integral part of the educational program, I want to hasten to add that most heads of educational programs in institutions need a shot in the arm which will arouse them fully to the potentialities and problems inherent in a well equipped and well operated institution library.

THE RELIGIOUS ASPECT

ALL THINGS ARE POSSIBLE WITH GOD

Congress Sermon

Reverend George F. McKinney

ALL things are possible with God. "These three remain, Faith, Hope and Charity, but the greatest of these is Charity." (Cor. 13-13)

As citizens of a mighty modern world, we are often quite proud of our civilization and its accomplishments. We boast, frequently, that our towering buildings are the greatest, our planes and trains the speediest, our industry the most productive, and so on *ad infinitum*. We glory in the fact that of all periods of time we are now alive. On the other hand, if we take great pride in our modern world, we must realize as well that this same world can be exacting and cruel. An example of this is found in the fact that modern finance has no time for failures, modern production demands perfection of operation. With all this planning, however, definite consideration is given to what is possible and what is impossible. The possibilities are made realities and the impossibilities rejected. If we fall in step with this march of progress, if we accept without question this line of thought, we are tempted many times to govern our actions by a materialistic rule of life, and think, "What is financially productive for us is successful; what is not workable here and now, I must leave alone."

Fortunately, however, we have another force in our lives which, if properly used, can help us maintain the proper balance for right living. This force is religion, and its goal is union with God for Eternity.

Many centuries ago a pastor was writing to his flock and he gave them the following advice: "Know you not that they that run in the race, all run indeed, but one receives the prize. So run that you may obtain. And everyone that strives for the mastery refrains from all things, and they indeed that they may receive a corruptible crown, but we an incorruptible one." This pastor was Paul, the Apostle, and the flock was his beloved church at Corinth. Paul loved his church at Corinth passionately, for of all his converts this group had perhaps made the greatest strides in perfection.

Corinth, at this time, was a city of some six hundred thousand inhabitants. It was the chief city of Achaia and received its life from Rome.

Corinth, the city of Venus, with all its commercial prosperity and political importance, was famous for its luxury and for its pleasure devotees from East and West. The Corinthians as a people were materialistic minded; their God was wealth and their personal code indulgence. Yet into this scene of splendor and wealth strides zealous Paul, with an exhortation to personal sanctity. When Paul spoke of mortification, his people understood, for they had trained their bodies for the Isthmian games. When he spoke of obtaining a crown they understood, for all contestants sought wreath of laurel as a symbol of success. His final charge to his flock contains the reason for his labor to obtain an imperishable crown. It is indeed a far cry from Apostolic times to the present, but the need for us remains the same. To obtain an imperishable crown. Measured by material standards, the modern world would cry, "We have no machine to build this product, we have no means to attain this end." *We reject your plan as impossible.* Our simple reply is couched in the phrase, "All things are possible with God."

Let us look for a moment at the entire problem under three aspects, namely; the product, the means, and the end. The product is man, the means religion, and the end or goal is God. Man in our modern world is defined in a myriad of ways. For the ruler of a totalitarian state, he may be considered as a mere cog in the wheel of a vast political enterprise. This ruler will grant that he has a certain amount of intelligence, that he is capable of thought processes, that he can laugh and cry to exhibit varying emotions, but the end all of his existence is found in the fact that he belongs entirely to the state.

To the materialistic scientist, man is a composite of various minerals or an arrangement of atoms forming a complex mechanism. When we even mention the word soul to this man, he merely shrugs and parries, "Have you ever seen one?" For us, however, this product man is quite a different thing. Man, we believe, is a creature composed of body and soul and made to the image and likeness of God. How simple, yet how sublime. The product of an omnipotent creator, fashioned from nothing and placed at the head of all creation. Not only fashioned in a mass production manner but specifically brought into being in the image of his creator.

Religion—this term has been defined and explained in countless volumes. Kingdoms have been won or lost in its name; yes, even wars have been fought in the name of this one word—religion. How more simply could we define it than by saying, "It is the voluntary subjection of one's self to God."

What machine can approach the perfection of a will attuned to its

creator? What earthly material beauty can be compared with the harmony of this spiritual union of creature and creator, of lover and beloved? Finally we come to the goal or end, which is union with God for all Eternity. From the multitude of questions I cite merely two—St. Augustine tells us, “Our hearts were made for thee and they will not rest until they rest in thee”—again, in the Sacred Scriptures, we read—“Eye hath not seen nor heard, nor hath it entered into the heart of man the things that God has prepared for those who love Him.” Sweet compulsion on one hand and Divine promise on the other. Yes, Divine Providence has not only given us the basis for hope and the strength in faith, but the love to enjoy our God for all eternity. With God, religion is not only possible but necessary.

From what I have said, however, it must not be taken for granted that, because we are the product or because we have the means, the goal will surely be achieved. To believe this would be just as foolish as to expect a machine once given the initial impulse to grind out its products forever with no further care on our part. Maintenance and a watchful eye are needed to insure regular production. Worn out parts must be replaced and strengthened if we are to expect a fair performance. In the spiritual life as well. Merely because we start in the favor of God is no guarantee that our final destiny with Him will be granted.

We must walk toward God daily if we are one day to reach His house.

If the practice of religion and virtue is a must for the average human being, how much more does it bind the penologist. It is hard to conceive of anyone who deals with criminal offenders, be he warden or guard, steward or case worker, who is not conscious of his obligations to his charge. Monetary reward alone is a shallow and vain reason for entering this field of work. Over and above any departmental regulations, there is ever present an obligation in charity to help those whose God-life has run low or even ebbed away. Christ very sharply points out: “because you did it to one of these, my least brethren, you did it unto me.” How can we say that religion remains but an idle name for us if we fail to follow its precepts personally?

As we enter this annual Congress of Correction, let us ask almighty God to shower His choicest blessings on all here assembled. Let the light and strength of God’s true wisdom pour into our minds and souls that we may see the necessity of religion in our work—feel the presence of God working with us and realize that with Him—all things are possible.

THE RELIGIOUS ASPECT

A MONTHLY RELIGIOUS SERVICE FOR EMPLOYEES

Reverend Herbert E. Erway

IN the debating class of prep school, we were sometimes handed the positive or negative side of a proposition to be discussed, without regard for our choice or convictions.

Today I find myself in much the same position, except that I may make my choice as to a negative or positive approach.

Until the preparation of this very inadequate paper I had never given the subject five minutes of thought.

My natural approach to any proposition is: "Is it desirable? If so, will it work?" The thought back of the suggested theme would seem to be that in many institutions there is a considerable group of employees who are unchurched and to whom the resident chaplain has the responsibility of providing a monthly worship service.

May I say in the very beginning that I believe that if there is a penal institution with its own or local housing provided for a considerable number of its employees and thereby comprising a community, that is without churches and is also far removed from a community with churches, the chaplain then would most definitely have a duty to perform—not monthly, but weekly—not to the employees only, but also to their families. There undoubtedly may be such an instance, perhaps many of them, but I do not know about them.

Since I am in no sense an authority on the matter, I felt that I ought to consult some others for their honest opinion about the desirability and workability of such a service. Consequently, I sent the following letter to a few wardens and chaplains: "I have been asked to prepare a paper on the theme, 'A Monthly Religious Service for Institutional Officers.' From your experience with penal institutions do you believe such a service: To be needful? . . . To be workable? . . . Please feel free to qualify your answers. May I assure you that if your reply is quoted, that your name or institution will not be mentioned."

From this questionnaire, seventeen replies were received with the following results: Two state commissioners of correction and three chaplains—five altogether—believed that such a service was needful, but they raised the question as to its being workable; no one considered it needful and at the same time felt sure it was not workable. One warden believed

that it was workable but not needful; one chaplain that it was both needful and workable. Two wardens and eight chaplains—ten altogether—believed it to be neither needful nor workable. This would indicate a majority who feel that the suggestion is not a matter of consideration.

One Catholic chaplain said in reply: "I definitely do feel that a religious service for the institutional officers is desirable and would be advantageous if such arrangement could be worked out. However, I do feel that we should bear in mind that our first responsibility is with the inmates, and that we are not liable for the spiritual welfare of officers; but your proposed program should be a benefit to the inmates as a result of the improved outlook of the officers which should ensue from such a plan."

A Protestant chaplain replies: "To be needful? Positively. More harm is wrought through the lack of religious character in our officers than can ever be overcome. They are, in many cases, poor examples for any correctional method. Is it workable? Where so many are members of the various Protestant churches, it is extremely hard to get them to come to a service because they say, 'I have my own church to attend.' What kind of a religious service would it be? Some would go along very well with such a program, but I fear the response would be so small that it would be deemed a failure."

A commissioner of correction says that such a service is needful, but that its workableness "depends on the skill and tact with which it is operated. Worth trying!"

Another state commissioner of correction has given an exceedingly thoughtful and thought-provoking reply:

"I am mindful of the difficulties that confront our institutional personnel in attending religious services, due to their irregular hours of working. Accordingly, I believe that it would be desirable and fitting if a monthly religious service could be instituted. Never in all history was there a greater need of religion than in these precarious times when Christianity is endangered by militant paganism.

"Someone once said that 'Religion is that cry of reason which nothing can silence; that aspiration of the soul that no created thing can meet; that want of the heart which no created thing can supply.' Millions of our people are distraught today, dejected and disheartened; life is purposeless and empty; they are groping blindly for something they need, they know not what; they have failed to interpret the soul's longing for God—their need is religion, not psychiatry.

"There is no question that members of our personnel who have a vital faith and practice their religion are better employes, better citizens, better

husbands and fathers. Moreover, we cannot overestimate the power of example. We may reform others unconsciously by example, and you may be sure that the news of monthly religious services by the personnel would reach the inmates through the grapevine and its significance would not be lost upon them.

"You ask whether this proposal for monthly religious service is workable. Frankly, I do not know. To my knowledge it has never been tried in a penal institution."

Let this suffice for the affirmative side. Now for a few answers from the negative.

One chaplain replies: "It is neither expedient, necessary, nor practical. Our men should support their local home churches. They should attend when possible with their families, and they should be regular financial contributors."

Another replies: "I know of no instance where such a service is needed. Many officers seldom attend church, preferring to spend their 'Sunday-off' with their families. All should be encouraged to worship with their families. I question if it would be workable in many instances, because of the attitude of the higher-ups in the prison management."

One warden who feels that it would be workable but not needful says: "Almost any meeting or activity which does not endanger the safety or security of the institution is workable if the authorities desire to arrange such a meeting. Of course, not all officers could be in attendance due to the fact that they are working on different shifts.

"There is no question but that an inspirational religious service is helpful to anyone at any time, provided the individual enters into the spirit of the service. It hardly seems to me that such a service is needed, in view of the fact that practically all officers are free to attend religious service at a church of their choice. It is true that there may be a few officers who must work on Sunday, but I doubt that any institution would insist on any officer's working permanently on a particular shift which prevented him from attending religious service at his own church if the officer presented his case to the authorities. I think attendance at such services would probably be by those who need them the least, unless official pressure were brought to bear to secure greater attendance, in which case I doubt that any good effect would come from such attendance. I can conceive of an institution situation where a monthly religious service for officers and employes might be very much needed and very much worth while. I think this might apply particularly to an institution where the officers and employes lived on the grounds and were somewhat isolated from other communities."

Another warden writes: "It is my personal belief that all people, be they prison officers or not, should attend church each Sunday and at such other times as required to conform to the practices of their particular religious faith. I do not subscribe to a monthly service if it is intended to imply that attendance at such services once a month is all that is required. If a man belongs to a faith which requires no more than one service a month, he should at least have that opportunity. I doubt very much that you intend that a religious service for officers once a month would mean that they would attend no other services. However, such service once a month might tend to encourage that belief in the minds of some men. On the other hand, those who seriously take their obligations to attend church according to the beliefs of their particular faiths will do so if they possibly can.

"It would be very difficult to work in a period for church services for officers on duty. It is to be assumed that, if they are on duty, in most instances they could not attend services without uncovering their posts, which would not be a practical procedure. If officers are off duty, they can attend services in their own churches outside the institution, which would be better for them and their families. I have never liked to see inmate services occur under the eyes of a group of officers who are obviously there for the purpose of surveillance. I admit, however, that there are some inmates who, even in church, need the surveillance of officers.

"To sum up, it seems to me that every possible encouragement should be given to prison employes to attend services outside with their families. Rotating assignments will go a long way toward eliminating the necessity for any one officer using duty as an excuse for not attending church. However, in spite of rotating assignments, there may be some officers who will not be able to attend church regularly outside. I cannot see that an institutional service would be a remedy for this period. I believe that the prison service should make every possible effort to allow employes to live normal lives when off duty and to encourage church attendance with families to whatever extent is possible."

So much for the questionnaire. All it has done is to indicate the problem involved. I doubt if there is a single one, making reply, but would agree that there is need for more religion among the prison personnel. Many overindulge in alcoholic drinking, and consequently are always broke, cannot buy homes of their own, and sometimes are fined on the pay-roll or suspended, while all the time they are handling hundreds of lives where strong drink has been the primary factor in the misfortune of those lives.

Many homes of the personnel are broken by separation and divorce and their children are scattered and handicapped by emotional insecurity; and this while they are acting as trustees over other hundreds of lives which have been similarly blighted.

Others have difficulty with dishonesty, laziness, indifference, callousness, and immorality. At least they are less valuable as servants of the state because of one or more of these characteristics. Perhaps religion's chief value to these men, or to any man for that matter, would be to build the character which would eliminate these and other unwholesome characteristics.

Now the question is, would a monthly religious service for officers produce this result? When I look at the proposition from the viewpoint of workableness in an institution of three hundred personnel, I see the problem resolve itself into round figures of one hundred in each of three eight-hour shifts. If we consider a Sunday forenoon service, one hundred would be working; one hundred for the most part would be sleeping, having just come off from eight hours of night duty; leaving one hundred as being available for such a service. And then, being the Protestant chaplain, I am reminded that only fifty of these men are Protestant; of these fifty, perhaps twenty-five would like to, and should, attend the church of their choice with their families; leaving twenty-five whose habits and preferences do not include religious observances. From this small group who are usually fishing, hunting, touring, golfing, reading the Sunday papers, or simply sleeping off Saturday night, we are expected to build a religious service. Perhaps in these foregoing statements the writer has indulged in over-simplification, in the attempt to emphasize the problem.

Certainly, we cannot overlook the matter of the exercise of giving in group worship. How this could be done and for what purposes is a question of some moment.

Whether a monthly service will meet the religious needs of irreligious men, and if not, why monthly? Why not weekly?

I believe, with conviction, that the chaplains should arrange meetings occasionally with the personnel and with the full cooperation of the staff, at which time the various phases of the religious program will be presented, setting forth the need and value of such programs to benefit the inmate and showing the dependence on the officers' cooperation for the success of such programs. This, the chaplain may himself present, or may do through the aid of other speakers. With too much truth it may be said that officers often think of the chaplain as a kind of "necessary evil."

It would seem to me, also, that the chaplain in his casual contacts with each officer, without risk of being called a "holy Joe," can well make a studied attempt to inquire of the officer as to his church affiliations, church attendance, and religious convictions, and leave the impression that at least the chaplain believes in the value of the thing he professes, to change human lives.

In order to deepen the spiritual life of employes, and to bring together Protestant officers in a common religious observance, it has been the practice in many of the institutions of New York State for the past two years to hold a Communion Breakfast annually. At Elmira, the reception center officers have met with the reformatory officers in the chapel at seven A.M. of Maundy Thursday for the Sacrament of Holy Communion. About seventy-five have been in attendance each year. After this service they have met for an excellent breakfast at the officers' restaurant, followed by a twenty minute speech given by a visiting clergyman who, in each instance, has presented ably the claims and demands of the Christian ethic. The sacrament, with the last, least, employe kneeling beside the warden, has emphasized the brotherhood. This, followed by the fellowship and speech, has given the conviction that religion is not an elective but a required subject. I may add here that the Catholic chaplains in New York State hold similar Communion breakfasts and I believe have practiced them for a longer time than have the Protestants. I do not personally know of any reason why such a service could not be duplicated in any institution, and undoubtedly it has been in many.

To summarize, and to state briefly my position, I believe that there may be an institution where a monthly or even weekly religious service may be very much in order. However, I also think that in most institutions the chaplain will succeed, if he is seeking ways to do so, in making the religious imprint on the personnel that is so sorely needed, by means other than a monthly service.

THE RELIGIOUS ASPECT

EVALUATING THE SPIRITUAL PROGRAM IN THE INSTITUTION

Rabbi I. M. Melamed

I WELCOME the opportunity given me to appear before this assembly. A conference like this is of inestimable value. It brings us closer together. It unites us as Americans, and makes us more sharply aware of our responsibility in these days of tension and crises to our fellow men as ministers of religion.

The institution I serve as chaplain is Joliet-Stateville. The total Jewish prison population there is currently no more than 65, 65 out of more than four thousand. We see at once that the Jewish prison population is very small not alone in relation to the total prison population but also in relation to the Jewish population. This ratio of less than two per cent of the total prison population is likewise being maintained in such heavily populated states as New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, and California.

As chaplain, as Rabbi, it is my duty to serve the Jewish men spiritually. I do so exactly as I would any congregation of which I were in charge. In my purely religious work and program, I am responsible to the Chicago Rabbinical Association, to whom I report from time to time on the nature of my work. On the social service level, I consult regularly with a trained worker of the Chicago Jewish Federation who visits the institution from time to time and interviews all men who care to see her.

But it is I as chaplain who is responsible for my program, and I as Rabbi who have to meet week after week at regular services with my congregants.

I use the term, "my congregants," advisedly. I hardly ever think of them as prisoners, as bad men, or as people who have to be spoken to differently. I never allow myself to think of them as being inferior or irreligious. To me, my men are Jewish. They are my congregation. I am their Rabbi. I am their religious leader. I am not looking down at them, and I don't want them to look up at me. The only attitude I expect—and that does not come to a Rabbi automatically, he has to earn it—is that they respect my Jewish learning and my scholarship. I am happy to state that I have earned that respect. Perhaps it does

not speak too well for the intelligence of my men at Joliet when I say that they respect and honor me not because I am an official, not because I have authority, not because I am superior, but simply because I am a Rabbi, a teacher, a religious leader. As such, I have their utmost confidence.

I repeat again that I had to earn that confidence—even as every Rabbi has to. How did I go about earning it, what technique or philosophy did I follow? Now what I am about to tell you may seem very naive or self evident, but to me it is a source of strength which proves its value over and over again.

I follow the old tradition that as long as a member of the Jewish religion remains within the fold, he is considered to be a member of the Jewish community. Yes, even if he is temporarily confined to a jail.

As a Rabbi, I do not see the prisoner, the criminal, the bad man, the one society put away behind bars. I see rather a Jew, a member of my synagogue.

The Sabbath is called holy. But so is eating and drinking on the Sabbath described as holy. And the Jewish people themselves are called holy in the Bible. "Holy ye shall be unto me for I the Lord your God am Holy." Now what does that mean? It does not mean, of course, that the Jewish people are holier than any other people. Not at all. But it does mean that as long as the Jewish people walk in the way of the Lord, as long as it adheres to the teachings of the Law, the Torah, as long as it leads a moral and ethical life—not alone in times of praying or synagogue attendance—that long the Jewish people, or any other people, are considered holy, or spiritual, if you will. Life is holy, the whole life, the totality of living. Every human act or behavior is in a sense spiritual. Eating and sleeping, dancing and singing, is a spiritual act. In every act or action, in working at the bench or in sowing the field we worship God.

Interpreting the spiritual in that sense, and I cannot in any other, the problem of evaluating the spiritual program of any given institution will assume new meaning. The question will no longer be, "How do my men behave during the formal religious service, what hymns do they sing, or what prayer do they read?" These particulars are important. Prayer and hymn, sermon and Psalm do much in raising the dignity of man, or bringing him closer to the principles and prescriptions of his particular group. I shall return to that phase of the spiritual a bit later in the paper. But the primary question, and the one which should concern us the most is, "What is the state of the institution's general, moral and physical health?" A prison is a place where individ-

uals are temporarily confined to rehabilitate and to become eventually God-fearing, law-abiding citizens.

A prisoner is, in most cases, a morally sick individual. He is in prison not to be punished physically nor to be degraded and humiliated daily, not to be abused by ignorant, sadistic guards. He is in prison to protect society during his period of illness, the same as the mentally unbalanced individual is confined to a hospital in order to protect society. But even as in a mental hospital where every technique known to mental science is applied to restore the sanity of the patient, so in a penal institution everything scientifically possible must be done to restore the moral or spiritual health of the inmate.

In the light of that understanding as to what the prison's function in a modern society is we cannot, as chaplains, look simply at our own confined corners known as the chapel and ignore, or worse, be unaware, as to what goes on around and about us. The chapel is our prison home, but from the chapel there must be well marked paths leading to every department of the institution. Of what value would the excellence of our prison's spiritual program be as long as the total rehabilitation program remains an archaic or primitive one? The chaplain would only lend prestige by his mere presence to a morally and politically corrupt system. He would lend himself to a form of religious exploration. Ignoring the goings-on about him, interested only in his own confined corner, he would soon begin, unwaveringly perhaps, to sanction barbaric conditions as they exist in many a prison of our land. He would become a partner, unwillingly to be sure, to corruption and exploitation. And more than that, he would degrade himself and his particular church in yet another way: during the formal preaching hours he would preach about the highest values and standards of his church. He would teach equality and brotherly love, he would constantly stress the fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of men, the holiness of life and the sanctity of the church. But the men, the prisoners, listening to him, would soon be made aware of the contradictions existing between what is preached and what is practiced. They could not respect nor find consolation in a preacher or service which, while pointing to a way of life that might be, leads at the conclusion of the short service to a road which negates every principle preached so glibly but a few short minutes before.

The chaplain, then, must not alone try to ascertain the total rehabilitation program of the institution but must, occasionally, raise his voice against injustices committed by uncooperative or ignorant officials. The moral integrity of the warden, the humanness of the guards, of the

system of corporal punishment, the state of health of the prisoners, the curriculum at the school, the incorruptibility of the parole board, the diet at the kitchen, the cleanliness at the cells, the books in the library are all the concern of the chaplain if his purely spiritual program at the chapel is to become or remain an effective one.

I shall now return to that phase of the chaplaincy which is the primary, if not exclusive, concern of the chaplain.

It goes without saying that the chaplain must be a man of the highest moral and educational background and qualification. All too often we find men in authority and positions of responsibility who are not equipped intellectually or ethically to cope with the problems at hand. We find men who are emotionally unstable, educationally limited, politically backward.

While it's not specifically my assignment, I can't let this opportunity pass without stating what I should like to come to pass in this area of our work.

The chaplaincy service is a specialty with which only the well qualified should be entrusted. I should like to see only those chaplains appointed to office who receive the absolute and unqualified endorsement of their respective churches or synagogues.

But even if the chaplain be highly qualified, it still doesn't mean that he's equipped to handle all situations he's called upon to solve. I think I am right in stating that a good many interviews between chaplain and inmate or patient have to do with situations that properly belong in the realm of social service. And while the chaplain may be highly skilled in his field, it's very doubtful whether he's thoroughly conversant with the tremendous progress made during the past twenty years in the field of social service. There's an old proverb to the effect that a smattering of knowledge is worse than none. A cursory knowledge of social service techniques is hardly a sufficient background with which to counsel men who depend on our skill and advice. I take, therefore, the liberty to recommend that all institution chaplains should have the advice and active help of a trained social service worker of their respective denomination. The chaplain should not feel that the social service worker of his own particular church is competing with him. Rather he should understand and accept the fact that his own chaplaincy effectiveness and efficiency will increase tremendously, once the inmates or patients know that there is an expert in the field who is working cooperatively with the chaplain toward the same goal. All counseling and interviews not of a purely religious character, or not related to a specific spiritual problem, should be handled by the social worker who is attached

to the chaplain's office. Needless to point out, the social worker attached to a particular chaplain's office, compensated by the chaplain's specific church, will in no way or manner compete with or supplement the social service set up of the given institution, if one be in existence.

And now, a word or two about the sermons preached at the chapel or assembly hall of the institution.

It would be presumptuous for me to tell you chaplains what kind of a sermon to preach. Each denomination has its own holidays, holy days and festivals. There must never be any interference from any quarter as to what we should or should not preach. No self respecting chaplain would ever consent to take orders from anyone outside his church regarding the conduct of his own particular service. But there are many occasions when all of us, as Americans, can preach or discuss subjects which are universally applicable to Catholic, Protestant and Jew, white and colored.

All of us should, at all times, be well prepared before we ascend the pulpit to preach. We should not deliver second or third-rate talks simply because our charges are in no position to talk back to us. All of us should occasionally choose topics for discussion with some social significance. We should discuss, for instance, the need for slum clearance, for better schools, for more adequate playgrounds, for better understanding between the various religions in the big cities—and small ones too, for that matter. After all, there is a direct relationship between lack of opportunity, ignorance, fear, insecurity and discrimination and the incidence of crime. If we are to help the criminal, we have to eliminate many a social evil. And who but the chaplain is in a better or more strategic position to do so? Perhaps all clergymen of all denominations, at all times, should raise our voices against certain evils existing in our society. Be that as it may, I believe it definitely within the realm of the chaplain to relate the experiences and handicaps of the prisoner, or patient to the larger society of which he's a part.

THE PROBATION ASPECT

NEW HORIZONS IN PROBATION

Louis J. Sharp

IT IS not necessary to go into probation's history. I do not even need to mention the benefits and untouched potentialities of probation as a method of correctional treatment. We know its economic values and we have emphasized its importance to society and to the offender. We have watched its gradual, though uneven, growth. And we have been proud of its improvements. I am not one, however, who believes that our progress has been startling. We could have done much better than we did. We still must face the question Dr. Milton Chernin asked a year ago, "Are probation and parole *treatment programs* or are they acts of executive clemency or grace?" We maintain, of course, that they are treatment, but too often the public, the legislators, and the courts think of probation as clemency and act in this judgment. Even now, we are faced with the challenge of whether probation is truly a profession.

Strictly speaking, we think of a profession as demanding certain criteria on which the profession itself must stand. Often included among these criteria are: a body of knowledge, high standards of personnel selection and training, a professional organization with membership requirements and professional publications, and a code of ethics. There is no question that probation is developing a professional consciousness. We are getting somewhat nearer to adequate personnel standards and we are now talking about professional organizations with membership requirements. It is not too difficult, however, for us to admit that at present we fall short of a profession in at least two ways: we have no organized body of knowledge and skills, and we have inadequate standards for the employment and use of probation personnel.

Let me speak for a moment on what we call our body of knowledge. It seems to me that probation is mature enough to confess that the techniques and procedures we have developed for our work are still in the experimental stage. We have seen how guidance gave way to treatment; how manipulative supervision was followed by "listening"; and more recently by the current technique of counseling. Is it too much to expect a profession, so-called, to have a definite plan for correcting a specific trait or a particular activity? I think not. The plan need not be static—and should not be. But as an acceptable technique capable

of modifying human behavior, we could expect it to be known and utilized by most probation officers.

Moreover, in our work as probation workers we must rely to a large extent on such related fields as psychology, psychiatry, and human relations. Since these are still developing, techniques we use in our daily work often are ahead of our knowledge of the cause of the problems which bring probationers to our attention. Until we produce a fairly sound base of scientific knowledge of the causes of human behavior and develop tried skills and tested techniques for treating it, I do not believe we can support any claim that we have created a body of knowledge.

Although there is no ready solution for this weakness, I believe we have been negligent for not stepping up our search for one. I do not mean we have fallen down in our assignments or failed in our cooperation with other fields which have helped so much. But probation may be criticized for failing to emphasize the most important tool it has for getting closer to this problem—research and planning. We have talked too long of successes, low violation rates, and decreases in recidivism. Although likely we would be the first to deny it, I am afraid that we let it be known—by implication perhaps, but certainly without too much contention—that we feel that probation has brought about these successes: lower rates of violation, and less recidivism. The field of probation has yet to offer substantial factual evidence that such good results came altogether from probation. As a matter of fact, I am not so sure that we might not be hard put to show that probation had anything very much to do with most of them at all.

At the same time, I do not believe that we are getting any closer to the crux of this problem by our constant and rather exclusive use of the reasoning that probation should be supported because it is an economical method for the correctional treatment of certain offenders. This is an important point, but one that is far from conclusive. It seems to me that we must begin to minimize the economy of probation, or, to put it another way, emphasize other factors which are fundamentally more important. One of these, for example, is that a higher percentage of offenders can be "reached" through probation when the violator is in the community as an entity and not placed in the artificial, regimented atmosphere of an institution. There is also the important factor of keeping a family together if it is at all possible, by the use of probation, because of the obvious benefits to all.

I think there is general agreement that these factors, to mention only two, are far more important than the economic value of probation. The

unfortunate fact is that we must fall back on the economic factor because we have no body of statistical data to support our contention that probation, for a sizable number of violators, is better than an institution. Lest I be considered impractical, let me repeat here that I think the economy of probation is important and that at present it is the most practical method of securing public financial support for probation systems. At the same time, of course—and this is the important point I should like to emphasize—it is the only evidence we now have which is both *scientific* and *provable*. The obvious solution—if I am right in my contention that there are more important factors in probation than economy—is to extend much more widely the search for statistical support of our record of probation success. As probation workers and administrators, we must stimulate, support, and demand research to add to our stockpile of knowledge. We must not only cooperate in fact-finding studies and surveys which relate to other allied professions as well as our own, but we must continue to demand funds to support our own broad research programs and lend our support to have them made scientifically, publicized broadly, and utilized meaningfully. It is encouraging to note some developments in this area. You will hear from Mr. Schapps of one meaningful study of this kind done this past year.

This would not be a true talk on probation, nor have all the needed components for a paper at a congress of correction, if we had no word from a speaker on adult probation on the subject of probation salaries, personnel standards, and professional training.

Today's salaries and standards bring us right up against another requirement if we want to apply the label of "profession" to the field of probation—namely, the criterion of high standards for a personnel program. A speaker always runs the risk of creating ennui in his listeners when it comes his lot to speak of inadequate salaries and the wide discrepancies in standards of training and experience of probation personnel. Nevertheless, let us look for a few minutes at the subject of salaries of probation officers and administrators.

One of the most impressive studies made recently on the subject that I have seen was "Salaries of Probation and Parole Officers in the United States," by the National Probation and Parole Association, a compilation of salaries in jurisdictions of 100,000 or more people. When analyzed, the findings give us some pause. For example, 13 states which have such positions pay the state director of probation or parole services less than \$4,500 per year. Thirteen states begin state probation and parole officers at less than \$2,500 per year. Only 15 states start their state probation or parole officers at a salary higher than \$3,000 per year. The

study shows that many city and county jurisdictions compensate their probation officers at an even lower level. A comment by the general editor of this pamphlet may be pertinent:

"The schedules show that salaries in all positions are unstandardized and reveal wide and disparate variations among the various jurisdictions. Probation and parole personnel is underpaid in the light of present living costs and the standards of education, training and experience recommended by the National Probation and Parole Association. Any salary changes in most departments should only be made upward. Such increases should be based on these standards and on the importance to the public of the service performed, and not on the basis of average or typical salaries now paid."

We can always expect the inevitable result of low salaries: low standards of education and experience for beginning probation officers. Frequently there is also a prostitution of good standards (even when they are provided) by administrators who are expected to secure trained officers at salaries incommensurate with the exacting demands of probation work. Lest I appear too pessimistic, I want to give notice, without naming them, of a number of exceptions to this pattern—states and counties in which high standards are followed and adequate salaries paid, both to beginners and to those officers with more experience and increased responsibilities.

Adequate financial support will come to probation only when there is achieved adequate public understanding of its function and complete recognition of its service. Understanding and recognition will come only from our sensible and scientific presentation of a case for probation. Leon T. Stern of Pennsylvania made a fine point in a paper published recently, in which he described the differences and similarities of popular and scientific evaluations of probation and parole and the misconceptions surrounding these evaluations. "Popular evaluation," he said "... means the uninformed opinion of a citizen or even of an official, not based on careful consideration. For example, when a police officer who takes Johnny to court says, 'The juvenile court is soft. This kid will be home before I get back to my beat,' he is expressing an opinion popular among police officers from McKeesport to Seattle. . . . When parole and probation officers speak of the high success attained, and use the favorite figure of 87 per cent as a measure, they are expressing an opinion popular among parole officers, but not one necessarily true everywhere." He concludes: "Both popular (public opinion) and scientific evaluation have their place in probation and parole services." And here is the most important point in his paper and one I should like to repeat:

"Popular evaluation, expressed in terms of informed public opinion, is essential to the growth and expansion of probation and parole services and to related activities—the detention of juveniles, crime prevention."

There can be no question that probation workers and administrators will not get adequate public support—and that means increased appropriations, higher salaries, merit systems, nonpolitical standards and all the rest of it—until public opinion and popular evaluation is molded by and becomes dependent upon scientific opinion presented by probation authorities. As I said earlier, we must promote research and fact-finding and work harder toward a more scientific evaluation of our efforts.

Let me turn now for a few minutes to the training of probation personnel.

It seems to me that the trend of formalized academic training for probation officers during the next few years will be toward adequate preparation for correctional work on the undergraduate level. I do not wish to reopen the controversy—if indeed one even exists—between those who favor graduate training in this type of school or prefer it in that. I *do* think we need to recognize and accept the fact that we cannot hope for the next few years to attract to probation work, on any substantial scale at least, practitioners who have graduate degrees. It is not realistic to hope that the probation field, beset as it is at present by inferior salaries, political pressures, and other weaknesses, would be attractive to very many persons who have spent years and many dollars in preparation for a graduate degree and who, at the same time, have developed equal capacities and training in other areas of social work which soon loom as more attractive financially.

The time must come when probation workers will be adequately trained in corrections on an academic level, commensurate with the compensation they could hopefully and rightfully expect when they enter the professional field. The curriculum will likely have criminology and correctional services as a core, with supplementary instruction in other phases of social work—specialized casework, group work, medical and psychiatric information, et cetera.

In addition to high-grade, formalized professional training for probation workers, which is essential, there should be adequate and constructive on-the-job training for all. In-service training can never be a substitute for formalized training nor compensate for poor staff selection. It is also true that the highest grade of personnel selection and professional training—no matter how complete—are not enough. Neither or both can possibly satisfy all the demands of high-level performance in a probation office or keep workers abreast of developments and new

concepts in the work. If we are at all anxious about growth on the job—and who isn't—we must look to in-service training for this help. Nearly all front line probation and parole services have some sort of organized in-service training. Others are in the field with professional casework supervision and training and procedural manuals. And the emphasis continues to be in the direction of advancing and supporting in-service training programs of high caliber.

In-service training in the future will look toward something more than round-table meetings of office staffs. Such conferences are certainly not enough, although they do have certain values. The best in-service training programs will continue to draw for consultants on all the talent available in the correctional field; will be well planned and well directed; will be regular and will be constantly evaluated for effectiveness and results.

I promised not to spend too much time on a discussion of the actual detail work of probation officers and how they are doing it, or how they should do it. There are several points, however, which I believe we should take a moment to examine rather closely—either as administrators or practitioners, it makes no difference—and stop to examine our own consciences. It seems to me that these are areas we should improve not more to provide a higher caliber of service to offenders than for the general well-being and development of the probation profession itself.

In the first place, *let us talk less of decreasing caseloads and do more to manage them.* Probation officers are becoming increasingly adaptable to large caseloads, or at least loads in excess of the number considered desirable by leaders in the field. They are looking more and more, and with increasing attention, to finding ways of managing the assignments they are called upon to handle. They will move closer in the next few years to the systematic classification of their probationers in terms of what the latter really need, and what the officer can allocate them in the way of personal attention. They will be thinking of streamlining office procedures, tailoring their field travel to the demands for economy of time and funds, and analyzing their work in other ways in a search for time-saving devices. Let me warn here: even with improved procedures, one should not become resigned to a too-heavy caseload. Even with excellent management, much is bound to be left undone if the number of cases is too high to permit careful, thoughtful, and thorough work. But the worker *can* be orderly, dispose his attention where it is needed most, and achieve markedly improved service. The latter satisfaction will be his reward for good management.

I cannot avoid making at this point another suggestion for the proba-

tion officer: *Let him record faithfully what he does in a case.* I will not go into the many and cogent "professional" reasons for recording the work in a case. But let me add just this comment. A doctor would not think of failing to note each step he takes in the medical treatment of the patient—nor would the lawyer in his field—nor the scientist—nor the teacher in his profession. No more should a probation officer fail to record every step of his work with an offender. If this were done more exactly and regularly by all probation officers—and incidentally, by all correctional workers—there would be less of the merry-go-round, passing-the-buck treatment in which offenders are shunted through the correctional mill from worker to worker, from institution to institution, being handled alike and being dismissed with the closing notation in words like these: "Case closed. Did not respond to the treatment plan"—in many instances the same treatment plan tried earlier by some other agency without success. Probation administrators will no longer accept the plea that caseloads are too high for acceptable recording. Let there be job analyses and management of caseload and there will be time for recording.

Finally, *let the probation officer become a leader in the community.* The good probation officer knows his community—its culture, its traditions, its institutions, and its agencies. He knows its social resources and when and how to use them. He is in an enviable position to assume leadership in attacking social forces and social conditions which often are at the root of many of our criminal problems, and he has the responsibility for bringing these to the notice of community leaders. He should also work toward a better understanding between the legal and social work professions. These two professions, as one writer put it recently, are not always friendly, much less brotherly. The solution to correctional problems depends so much on the support and acceptance of our methods by the lawyer who administers the law that we should not overlook an opportunity to create cordiality and cooperation. Probation officers have not begun to scratch the surface of community leadership, although it is increasingly evident that they are beginning to accept more readily their obvious responsibility. More and more there will be progress in this direction.

Now I should like to add a few brief comments on the present administration of probation and what we can look for and expect in the next few years.

In the first place, recent studies have shown glaring inconsistencies in the type and breadth of probation service. Broken down, these inconsistencies look something like this:

1. Probation legislation has in vision and expansion outstripped the administration of its service.

2. Probation service is still largely dependent on state and county economy; the more prosperous, economically healthy areas have probation facilities—the weaker, sparsely settled jurisdictions do not.

3. Even in some progressive areas where probation has come of age, it is still limited in its application by statutory provisions which are far from wise and frequently crippling.

4. Interstate cooperation in handling the supervision of probationers is inferior to that now existing in parole cases.

5. A broad fertile field—the lower courts of the nation—has been largely left untouched by probation.

Considered individually, perhaps none of these inconsistencies are anything to be unduly alarmed about. It certainly will do no harm, however, for us to look at our weak points and give some evidence that we are putting thought and effort into their elimination or correction. It may even be, as we consider them, that the solution of some is relatively simple.

For example, think for a moment about the lag between the legislative foundation of a probation service and its administration—my point Number 1. Should not we administrators ask ourselves: Do we show a lag in our own service? What causes it? And what can we do about it? As an example: Have we reviewed our agency's policy to learn whether daily practices are in line with philosophy expressed publicly? Do we preach one thing and practice another? Do we enforce a mandatory rule that a home visit, for example, must be made each month in every case, when at the same time we plead the need for classification of case-loads and emphasis on the more serious problem cases? Do we countenance the excessive use of authority while we preach friendship with probationers and counseling? Are we fighting for high personnel standards or do we compromise and try to justify? Is our cooperation in inter-agency relationships equal to our demand of cooperation from other agencies? It would be well for us to answer these questions and take corrective steps if we find they are needed.

Again, in another direction, I believe we can expect an expansion of probation services to less populous counties through area-wide integration. This may be accomplished, perhaps on a state-wide advisory—even administrative—level, with central facilities for statistics, research, personnel and work standards, and community educational programs. It might be done also through state subsidies to counties or through the utilization of existing correctional agencies, both public and private,

for probation work in local and state courts.

There also seems to be a well-defined move toward the gradual elimination of all restrictive limitations on the use of probation. It might not be too much to expect that legal barriers to the use of probation will eventually be removed—for example, the bar to the use of probation for second offenders. We should recommend also the elimination of any rigid time limit on probation supervision (aside perhaps from a legal over-all maximum limit to protect personal rights) so that termination could be based on the readiness of the person being handled.

Finally, I think we can also expect the extension of probation services to the lower courts of the nation—the courts for misdemeanants—through which the dregs of the wayward element of society find their way, and for many of which probation may have much to offer. We can logically anticipate a movement in the lower courts to provide at least two kinds of probation service:

1. A short-contact service with limited presentence investigations for those defendants placed on probation to pay fines and restitution or in lieu of short jail or workhouse sentences.

2. A long-term, more supportive service with complete investigations and complete supervision for persons ordinarily now receiving jail or workhouse sentences in excess of 30 days.

It is always the ardent hope of any speaker—particularly of a young (and perhaps in my case, a visionary) one—that he will leave his audience with some new and rather startling information, or with a bright and shiny kernel of wisdom calculated to generate thought tomorrow or even the next day, or at least leave it with a modicum of good cheer to send his listeners off with breast-beating hopes for the future.

I must confess I have reached no one of these objectives. As you heard me predict, too little was said about too many important matters. Be that as it may, let me take these last few minutes to pull together the few points that I *did* touch on.

To begin with, we ought to admit quite frankly that probation has not yet achieved the status of a profession, even though there are unmistakable signs that we are moving toward that goal. We have an obligation to support this developing trend, and should not be content to sit idly by and watch it happen if it will. If we do get behind it energetically and with any great hope of success, we must depend on research and long-range planning to help us.

When professional status comes—if it does—and with it complete public understanding and aggressive public support, we indeed will have accomplished something. With increased public support, it is

only a step to the realization of the tangible conditions we have been fighting for: the highest standards of personnel selection and training, a fairer level of compensation, an expansion of probation services to geographical areas and courts not now touched, the closer cooperation of all agencies serving the common good, and, above all, a public recognition of the potentialities of probation and its value to our society and way of life.

If there is any thought I ask you to take home, it is this: let none of us—probation officer or probation administrator—ever forget that we can do more for probation through personal service and personal example than we can ever hope to do through propaganda. It is our job to bring our personal service to a high level, keep it there, and reap the rewards of our energy, sincerity, and hard work.

THE PROBATION ASPECT

THE JUNIOR PROBATION CAMPS OF THE COUNTY OF LOS ANGELES, CALIFORNIA

John M. Zuck

THE Junior Probation Camp program in the County of Los Angeles came into being during the war years, 1941 to 1943, in response to recognized need.

Our community was then shocked by reason of the rapid rise in the delinquency rate among boys 12 to 15 years of age. The right and left guides of society's controls were missing or out of step. Frequently parents or older members of the family were in military service or employed in defense plants. They greeted each other briefly in passing between the swing, graveyard, or split shift. All too often, wholesome family life was abandoned and children left to their own devices without guidance.

Private facilities for care of children pursuant to juvenile court order and requirements of the probation department were not available. Parents of normal children were able to pay large sums for such care, due to their increased earnings, and engaged all placement possibilities. To meet placement need of boys with serious behavior problems, it was determined to establish within the probation department a camp to care for boys of junior high school age. Our first camp, caring for 60 boys, was set up near Camp Baldy at an elevation of 4,556 feet, in July, 1943. There we took over an abandoned county road camp, converting it to our use. Its replacement in the beautiful Sierra Madre Mountains is nearing completion. In January, 1944, a second camp, caring for 90 boys, was set up in La Tuna Canyon. This time we took over facilities previously used as a C.C.C. camp, consisting of some 24 buildings located on eleven acres of oak-covered land.

Lacking camp experience in handling 12 to 15 year old boys, we decided to pattern our program for their handling after the one meeting the needs of our 16- to 18-year-olds in the juvenile forestry camp.

We were aware of basic differences and cognizant of the necessity of providing a full time school program and a part time routine camp maintenance work program in the junior camp, as contrasted to the part time school and full time forestry work program in senior camps. Again, in our senior program, we had the cooperative cosponsorship of the county forester and fire warden. The junior program is the sole responsibility of the probation officer.

Briefly, the basic philosophy of the camp program is as follows:

(1) A wholesome camp environment with regular meals and sleep, inspirational leadership, religious training, schooling, adequate medical care; purposeful and understanding administration of supervision and intelligent disciplinary control.

(2) High caliber, professionally trained deputy probation officers as camp supervisory and therapeutic staff.

(3) Absolute minimum security. Each boy is aware of the honor of being in camp and of his personal responsibility to make good on his own.

(4) No corporal punishment, no lockups, no loss of food or physical restraint. The most severe punishment of a boy within the camp program is the loss of his privilege of remaining in camp.

(5) A system of treats, privileges, recognition and awards to elicit boys' response to the camp program as a substitute for punitive treatment.

(6) This philosophy involves a comprehensive psychotherapeutic treatment program both on an individual and group basis.

(7) This philosophy involves a program providing satisfaction of basic drives for attention, recognition, status, and other ego-satisfactions through the operation of a boy government system and promotional work program.

(8) It involves placing more and more trust in the boy as he progresses in his adjustment to the camp program.

(9) It involves a maximum amount of freedom within the limits of custody and good supervision, within the camp program.

(10) It includes a completely indeterminate period of time a boy is placed in camp. His length of stay is completely dependent upon his adjustment and attitude as a good camp citizen.

(11) Lastly, it involves the use of all phases of the camp program including recreation, work, school, group living, inclusive of boy and staff eating, sleeping and living in the same environment, as therapeutic tools.

With experience, definite differences were noted between the junior and senior programs and steps taken to re-evaluate and revise to meet the needs of the younger boy.

Our first major conclusions came in the area of evaluating the type of boy entering our junior camp program. It was determined that most boys could be classified as slightly psychoneurotic. Seemingly, they were products of familial and environmental emotional disturbances occasioned by feelings of rejection, inadequacy, and insecurity engendered by parental rejection, sibling rivalry, and lack of positive adult identification as

provided by parents, teachers, and others. These factors apparently caused most of these boys to be very hostile toward all parental, school, and police authority and the mores of society.

Occasionally we receive at camp the atypical normal boy, or the more deeply disturbed boy. We believe our greatest success to be with the slightly psychoneurotic type and, of course, with the atypical normal boy. We have also experienced success in treating such conversion cases as enuretics and the boy with neurotic tics who, after developing security and feelings of adequacy in the camp program, no longer suffered from these afflictions.

Problems of the junior camp boy are further complicated because he has a short fuse and is emotionally explosive. His emotional disturbance seems deeper than the older boy in senior camp. His delinquency patterns have been cut at a younger age, while he is experiencing the processes of puberty and adolescence. Further, the junior boy's instability and unpredictability precludes projecting himself into the future and responding to long-term future objectives. Also, by reason of his age, his post-release environment is bound to be similar to that he experienced before coming to camp. Generally he will return to the same home situation, will still be subject to the California compulsory school law, will return to the same full-time school and the same in-group identification. Contrast this with the senior camp graduate, who may elect full or part time school attendance, perhaps enter military service or resort to other means of changing his former environmental situation. Another problem facing the junior camp boy is the large differential in physical and emotional maturity of his age group. Some 13-year-olds are six feet tall, weigh 200 pounds, and have emotional maturity of an eighteen-year-old, while some 15-year-old boy may be barely five feet tall, weigh 100 pounds and have the emotional development of a boy of nine. When placed together, obviously complications arise.

Finally, our evaluation brought out the fact that relative isolation from society in general, lack of new experiences and adventure satisfaction in the junior program tended to make boys institutionalized and victims of monotony. In our senior program, boys leave camp daily for work projects, experience the thrill of fire fighting, planting fish in our streams, et cetera. Our original junior program provided none of these advantages, boys being faced largely with the full time school program similar to the one to which they had failed to adjust.

With experience came recognition of deficiencies and determination to meet the needs of the junior age boy. Our first step was to develop a program providing for individual treatment, a program that would take

into consideration his emotional explosiveness, difficulties incidental to adolescence, a program which would strengthen him to meet the same temptations and environmental problems which were his prior to camp experience. This program of individual treatment had to be designed to meet the vast differential in relative emotional and physical maturity of the junior camp boy and his ability to project himself into the future and be motivated by future rewards and adjustment.

It was felt that our only way of releasing tensions and emotional problems of these boys was to develop a treatment program which could give a boy opportunity to express his feelings freely in a socially acceptable manner without fear of recrimination or censorship.

The program also had to be designed so as to develop each boy's confidence in the members of the professional staff, so that he would trust us and have faith in our ability to help him. This individual treatment program necessitated the creation of a permissive, sympathetic type of atmosphere in camp which would tend to convince each boy that camp staff were solely interested in helping him.

The creation of such an atmosphere in camp is most difficult, due to the deep seated hostility toward authority which most new camp boys possess. In order the more effectively to meet these issues, our most experienced staff members are assigned to the task of structuring and orienting new boys in camp. Such structuring emphasizes his basic right to be an individual and to maintain his own individual dignity. Though advised that camp exists solely to help boys, his own responsibility to make good on his own is stressed. It is also explained that we can help him if he will tell us about his problems, and he is assured at the first counseling session that he may express himself without fear of censure. He is also advised concerning problems he will experience in camp and that, by bringing these problems to the attention of his advisor, he will be able to solve them and relate them to deeper seated problems he may have had before coming to camp.

An extremely important phase of the orientation process is understanding of the dual role played by professional camp staff. Camp boys are led to understand that individual counseling situations differ from those involving the group. In the former, the counselor is a therapist, while in the latter he is a supervisor with responsibility for the protection, welfare, health and custody of all boys in camp and in this capacity represents the authority of the camp, the probation officer, and the court. Even in the latter authority situation, it is vastly different from that of the concept of a personally imposed authority on the part of the individual camp officer. The most truly effective camp officer is the one

who remains objective and free from ego-involvement at all times. The supervision and disciplinary control of the good officer is based completely on a well-structured pattern of rules and regulations within the camp with which all boys are thoroughly familiar. Thus, when a boy breaks camp rules, he is not resisting individual officer authority but those of an impersonal camp program. It is extremely important that camp staff keep faith with this philosophy and that each officer be objective, firm, and completely fair in his administration of disciplinary control.

An important factor in applying this type of camp philosophy is that of structuring the limits of behavior acceptable within the camp program. It is recognized that boys will make mistakes and occasionally deviate from acceptable behavior patterns in camp. In fact, should a boy not do so early in his camp experience, it must be concluded that he had no problems before coming to camp and therefore does not belong in camp; or that his camp placement and experience has been so traumatic that his personality has become rigid and withdrawn; or that he has become so institutionalized that his anti-social activities are so covert as to be undetected. Thus, with continued and intensive structuring of the boy in the limits of camp behavior, complete responsibility for individual behavior, both positive and negative, may be placed with the boy. In other words, when a boy comes to camp, it is not the basic responsibility of the staff to catch him in anti-social behavior and prove that he is a bad boy, but it is the boy's responsibility to prove to us what a good boy he is. Pursuant to this philosophy, a boy learns that when he violates the limits of acceptable camp behavior and is reprimanded for same, it is his responsibility and not that of the staff member who corrects him.

Thus, if a boy continually lives outside the limits of camp behavior, he accepts the fact he is not fulfilling his responsibility as a citizen of the camp community and is harming other camp citizens. He understands that continued poor citizenship, with no improvement, can only result in his removal from this camp community, just as he would be removed from any other community for continued anti-social behavior. With such understanding and acceptance of camp standards of behavior on the part of camp boys, we have found that boys conform more rigidly to camp behavior standards and with less tension than when more directive authoritative discipline is used. We note with interest that, even when it is necessary to remove a boy from camp, very rarely does he become vindictive toward the camp and staff, but rather accepts his own personal responsibility for such removal.

As the boy's confidence and trust in the camp and its staff grows, it becomes easier for him to express his deeper emotions. The chief medium

through which these expressions come is in individual counseling between the boy and his camp advisor. Each boy is assigned to a camp advisor and usually, as a rapport building technique, to the professional member of his choice after a stay of two or three weeks. Camp advisors encourage a boy to express his deep seated emotions. This is not a technique of exhortation, moralizing or threat. Rather, it is a permissive type of counseling where the boy does most of the talking, the advisor merely reflecting back the emotional content of the boy's statements to further stimulate his response. Each boy is permitted to set his own pace in expressing his deeper emotions. Thus he avoids the possibility of being confronted with problems he may have but cannot face, until fully prepared to do so. For instance, it took one boy several counseling sessions before he could say: "My stepmother hates me. Every morning I hear her tell my dad, 'Get that kid out of here, I hate his guts!' "

The truth of the statement is not important, but the fact that it was the feeling of the boy is. This boy, following expression of this feeling, for the first time could really face his attitude toward his stepmother. He gained insight as to whether it was true or not, whether he was responsible for such feeling and why his stepmother felt this way if it were true. The expression of such feeling also brings out other deep emotion relative to others of his family, community and friends. The important aspect of this procedure is that free and open discussion of problems without fear of ridicule or censure enables the boy to open up, face the reality of his situation and start building his personality to avoid future damage. Where frequent counseling interviews are held at regularly scheduled hours, a boy continues to show growth to the point that he is habitually able and desirous of gaining satisfaction from solving his problems in a socially approved way.

An extremely important phase of the camp program is group treatment. I am frank to admit that we could not operate a successful camp program without the help of our boys. It is imperative that the majority of the camp boys actively participate in the group program. Only by encouraging interest and participation in the complete operation of the camp on the part of boys is it possible to orient new boys into our program, protect the welfare of all boys, and preserve the property in which we are housed.

This help on the part of our boys is elicited by a well-built and integrated by government program. Such a program encourages the boy's interest in camp operation and gives him opportunity for status, recognition and ego-satisfaction through appointment to various boy government positions.

The backbone of this program is built around the division of the camp population into equal tribal-groups of approximately 15 boys each. Each group has a boy leader and various sub-committeemen. At each camp, a Boy Mayor and Officer of the Day are appointed. Occasionally we have a camp Governor when we have a boy who is outstanding enough to merit appointment. Many other positions, such as Medical Boy, Equipment Boy, Kitchen Police, Librarian, News Editor, et cetera, are filled with boy appointees. Such positions are numerous enough to permit any deserving boy to hold a position and work up to top leadership and recognition. Regardless of title, these positions involve service to others, performance of various chores about camp, washing dishes, house cleaning, et cetera, all of importance to the family living. Recognition of the importance of the chores and the honors going with their accomplishment are most meaningful. Many a boy, upon return home, has shocked his mother by volunteering to do the things about the house he could not have been induced to do before his camp experience.

The various tribal-groups hold regular group meetings, arranged so as to arouse interest and loyalty to the group of which the boy is a member. At meetings, each boy has a right to express his ideas as to how the group can improve in sportsmanship, competition, table manners, housekeeping, work assignments, et cetera.

Weekly a meeting is held which is attended by the boy leader from each tribal unit, the Boy Mayor and Officer of the Day. Here again each boy is encouraged to speak his mind in offering constructive criticism and suggestions relative to camp operation, treatment of boys by staff and boys' problems. It is truly surprising how constructive the criticisms and observations of the boy leaders are. Wherever possible, suggestions are observed and placed into effect. Recently a boy leader pointed out that, while boys at meal times conversed quietly, staff members eating with and in their presence talked and laughed loud. Fundamentals of good leadership are emphasized in these meetings, as boys have no authority over other boys and must lead their groups through setting a good example and camp citizenship. Group meetings also include regular assembling of athletic committeemen and other group leaders. Finally, once each week a town hall meeting is held, with all camp boys in attendance. At this meeting, camp rules and regulations are discussed, with every boy having the right to express himself as did our forebears in the early town hall meeting. Throughout all those meetings it is amazing to observe the insight that boy participants exhibit both toward camp program staff and, even more important, toward other camp boys. Such meetings go a long way in developing understanding on the part of boys

of each other, their problems, and promotion of good citizenship.

Another valuable phase of our group treatment attaches itself to our hobby clubs. Most of these clubs are sponsored by nearby service clubs or other organizations. The Tujunga Lions Club sponsors a Boy Scout Troop; Los Angeles Wilshire Kiwanis sponsor an extensive woodshop program; Beverly Hills Kiwanis has for years provided equipment and entertainment for one camp; and optimists, soroptomists, business and professional women, and numerous other groups sponsor activities. At Camp Tuna, the Los Angeles Press Photographers are doing a magnificent job. Here we built a modern dark room which they have completely equipped. They provide, from their professional membership, instruction in all phases of photography. Recently Coy Watson, one of the veteran Los Angeles Press Photographers, while instructing one of the groups of 15 boys, told them in substance as follows: "The negative which you expose has two sides. One is slick. The other, which is thick on the surface, is the emulsion side. The paper you print the picture on also has two sides. One side is slick, and the other, the emulsion side, is thick. To print a picture you put the thick or emulsion sides together under the printer. If you do it right with the proper amount of light and for just the right amount of time, your print will be a good one. Now, do you fellows all understand what I said?"

Characteristic of 'teen-age boys, all hands went up, denoting complete understanding. A Mexican boy was asked to explain. He was stuck. He could neither remember the big word—emulsion—nor did he know for sure exactly what it meant. His answer, however, was Solomon-like and truly expresses the whole truth regarding our philosophy in handling and counseling our boys.

Our young Solomon said: "Well, you said the film's got a slick side and its got that "odder" side, and you said the paper what you print the picture on it got a slick side and that "odder" side. Then with enthusiasm, he announced: "You said you don't put the slick sides together, you put the emotional sides together to make a good picture."

Another important group activity is athletics. Our type of boy, being an individualist, must learn to play with others. Group games teach him how to work and play with the other fellow, a quality so essential to good living.

Almost without exception, boys entering junior camps have been failures in the normal public schools. Recognizing this, Dr. Trillingham, our county school superintendent, and the Los Angeles City Board of Education have pioneered a school program to successfully challenge the interests of our boys. Their program recognizes the demand for satisfac-

tion of emotional needs of boys before fundamental academic skills essential to everyday use could be taught. In order to meet emotional needs in conjunction with academic training, an individualized program was designed to make a boy like school. The program is so designed that each boy of the group of 15 may receive recognition for personal worth and accomplishment, and almost immediate individual attention from his instructor upon his request. Boys are encouraged to help each other. One walking through a classroom observes small groups, scattered about the room, assisting one another. This procedure is productive of socialization and gives the boy who helps another a definite sense of personal worth and a feeling of adequacy.

There are no grade placements in camp. Each boy coming to camp is given a battery of California Series tests, including the Progressive Achievement Test, a Mental Health Analysis, a Personality Test, Occupational Inventory, and the California Test of Mental Maturity. Upon completion, each boy is placed in the school group where he is capable of doing his level of work. Thus, a boy may be doing 5th grade level in arithmetic and 6th or 7th grade level in English. The program is essentially remedial, each boy being given freedom of progress as slowly or rapidly as he wishes. Periodically each boy is tested and moved ahead as indicated by testing results.

We have had boys successfully achieve as many as six grade advancements during a six months period. Many boys entering camp are unable to read or write, yet within a three to six month period are able to correspond with their families and friends.

Within the camp, no attempt is made to segregate according to physical or emotional maturity. Each boy is placed according to achievement level. No stigma is attached to school placement, no matter whether he is doing first or eleventh grade work. The school program has become an integral part of the over-all camp treatment program with constant exchange of information between the school and camp staff regarding a boy's behavior, problems, progress and treatment.

Another phase of group activity in camp is the work program. Each boy has the responsibility of doing approximately two hours work per day. Such work includes kitchen police, orderly, and project work. Boys receive 25 cents per day for their work. Every effort is made to make work assignments worthwhile, in order that a boy may have satisfaction in the accomplishment of constructive tasks. Each work project is well-planned beforehand and boys encouraged to assist in the planning and to use their own initiative in its accomplishment. A promotional system is used whereby a boy starts out on a closely supervised project crew and,

as he progresses in camp, he receives promotion to more trustworthy positions where he works on his own with only intermittent supervision. With us, the job of K.P., for instance, is a highly honored position, carrying with it considerable prestige. Our work program not only develops good work habits but provides needed physical exercise.

In observing a boy's progress or regress in camp, every effort is made to get all available pertinent information recorded on each individual boy. Only through adequate case recording can we accumulate information essential to successful individual treatment. Our most important case recordings are contained in the boy's counseling progress file. All pertinent information gathered in individual counseling sessions, in the observance of boys in group situations, school, and all other camp activities is entered in the boy's own counseling progress file by any staff or school person privileged to deal with him. Another source of information is the daily grading of each boy's work, school effort, behavior, and his general attitude toward the camp program. Grades have relatively little bearing on a boy's general over-all adjustment and growth in camp. They are used primarily in disciplinary control serving as a criteria for awarding special treats and privileges. However, in most cases they do reflect a boy's positive or negative adjustment and serve in the evaluation of same.

Having outlined the basic development of the philosophy and program of the junior camp, you are probably wondering just what is the response of the boy to such a program; what are the criteria for evaluating his progress in camp; what are the criteria for his graduation or release, and what results are we getting in the adjustment of boys to the program and ultimately to society.

In order to provide a basis and guide for evaluation of a boy's progress, to serve as a social treatment outline, and to provide criteria for graduation, the camp step or phase adjustment plan was devised. This plan defines approximately eight steps that a boy passes through in his progress through camp to his ultimate release. Again, friends, there is no set time for a boy to progress through these steps, nor any definite period for a boy to remain in any one phase. Progress is entirely up to the individual boy. Native ability, however, is given thoughtful consideration by the staff.

The first step is, of course, his entrance into camp. The intensive orientation and structuring takes place during this phase.

The second step occurs when a boy accepts his camp placement. He has indicated through his actions that he intends to remain in camp, is aware of camp rules and regulations, is willing to cooperate with his

group, and willing to accept correction. The boy usually achieves his camp citizenship status during this phase. Camp citizenship requires at least two weeks of satisfactory or better behavior. Upon entrance into this phase, a boy becomes eligible for boy government appointments, out-of-camp treats, and other privileges.

The third step in camp adjustment is achieved when he expresses a desire to do well in camp, starts to respond to camp incentives and begins to apply himself in their accomplishment. This phase is characterized by the fact that a boy is not just serving time, but gets true satisfaction from his camp progress. Now he wants to earn camp privileges, boy government positions, and treats. He evidences acceptance of all boys, regardless of race, creed, or color, and does not seek unearned favors or take advantage of other boys or staff.

A boy is considered to be on the fourth step when he seeks to understand himself. This phase is characterized by a boy seeking help from staff, discussing his problems freely without attempt to deceive himself by rationalizing or blaming others. In addition he will have begun to set realistic goals for himself, enjoy school and learning, and take responsibility for others. He does not act differently in the presence of staff than when unobserved, nor does he attempt to avoid correction, but begins to recognize his own strengths and weaknesses and is interested in improving himself as a person.

A boy reaches his fifth step when he is able to apply his self-understanding. During this phase he demonstrates ability to work until his goal is reached. He learns from mistakes and does not repeat them. He understands his feelings better and is able to control them better. He begins to set his own standards of behavior and resists improper influence on the part of others. He has a feeling for responsibility toward camp and begins to show appreciation for the help he is receiving. Finally, he develops a high regard for the personal property of others and evidences ability to break his own bad habits.

A boy is on the sixth step when he is able to understand others. He now considers the rights of others as important as his own. He recognizes his own responsibility toward others as a good citizen and wants to get satisfaction out of helping others. He shows understanding of the problems of others and takes active leadership in camp, seeking to improve it. He gives help without expectation of reward and sets a good example for others.

The seventh step is entered when a boy is able to relate his camp learning and insight into his camp problems to those previously occurring at home and in his home community. At this phase, a boy recognizes

the problems at home which helped him get into difficulty. He knows what he must do to stay out of trouble and has developed hobbies to use in his leisure time. He has gained self-confidence and is making plans for his immediate future. He evidences ability to meet home situations as he will find them. When a boy indicates he has reached this phase of his development, he is sent home on a weekend with the court's approval, from Friday until Monday. Now he is able to test his feelings toward parents, siblings, and other community contacts. Upon return to camp, his reactions to the home and community visit are discussed with him in counseling sessions. Any problems which may have developed during this trial period at home are brought to light and solutions worked out.

Following the weekend home visits and with continued growth, he is soon ready for graduation. This is, of course, the final and eighth step. Camp graduation is a formalized ceremony with diplomas being given and the graduates' parents in attendance. Following graduation, the boy graduate is permitted to leave camp with his parents and return home.

All camp boys, being wards of the juvenile court, stand released in custody of the probation officer for camp placement. The formal court order for release follows their graduation and is made at a non-appearance calendar.

We do not demand that every boy meet all the requirements of each step or phase before graduation. Capacity for individual growth is given careful consideration. The step plan, however, has proved to be our most useful tool for evaluation of a boy's progress or regress while in camp. The step plan also helps each boy to evaluate his own progress and encourages him in his camp adjustment.

What success are we having with our junior camp program? One indication is the decidedly small number of runaways from camp. Another is the evidence of satisfactory adjustment upon their return home on the part of over 80 per cent of those entrusted to our care.

THE PROBATION ASPECT

PROBATION IN CALIFORNIA—SELF ANALYSIS

John Schapps

ON behalf of the special committee and staff who completed the recent survey and report of Probation Services in California, I acknowledge with thanks this opportunity to describe the methods employed and state some of the problems encountered in connection with what, like the California weather, we are inclined to believe is a phenomenon in many ways . . . *unusual*.

It is hoped that you will make notes of points and questions that occur to you during what I shall restrict as nearly as possible to a thirty minute presentation. We should all benefit by a frank and free exchange during the discussion of what, at the very outset, must be characterized as an effort and a result which reflects mistakes as well as successes. The topic as assigned, you will notice, is not the findings derived from the study, but rather the process of study itself, and I shall therefore place the emphasis on method and technique. It is hoped that it will prove interesting and informative for you to consider a cooperative self-study, embracing fifty-nine separate probation departments conducted by a volunteer committee and a loaned staff, assigned to bring in the facts at the end of six weeks' time.

The project did not embrace a survey of crime or a study of probationers. The two essential purposes of the study were to help document what was generally known about the status of probation in California and to derive as much new information as possible concerning all of the states' county probation departments handling adult and juvenile work. The information gathered was to be of a kind most useful to the governor's commissions, legislative committees, state officials, the courts and the probation profession generally, toward improving the state's principal correctional service, namely probation.

To quote from our introduction, "Attention is drawn to the fact that, as originally announced by the commissions, no invidious comparisons would be drawn between individual probation departments in connection with the broader and preferable objective of viewing probation state-wide. As for comparing the quality of probation in California to similar services in other states, only an application of essentially the same methods

of fact-gathering and the use of identical scales of evaluation would appear to justify relative evaluations."

The study was officially sponsored by two of the five commissions appointed by Governor Warren to study the problems of crime in California. The one commission was that on Adult Corrections and Release Procedures, under the chairmanship of Burdette J. Daniels of Los Angeles, the other on Juvenile Justice, chairman, Charles de Y Elkus, San Francisco. In a joint meeting at Sacramento, January 14, 1949, the commissioners appointed the following committee to assume the task under discussion:

RONALD H. BEATTIE, chief, bureau of statistics, California Department of Justice

F. HAROLD BUTTERFIELD, probation officer, Riverside County, representing the California Probation and Parole Association

JOHN SCHAPPS (chairman), western director, National Probation and Parole Association

HEMAN G. STARK, chief, field services, California Youth Authority

ROY C. VOTAW, assistant chief, acting for Mr. Stark during his absence

WALTER T. STONE, director, adult division, Alameda County Probation Department

Subsequently the California Youth Authority made available the services of its probation consultant and five of its field representatives; the department of corrections, two of its field representatives, and the National Probation and Parole Association, its western field consultant.

Mr. Malcolm E. Harris of the department of corrections served as committee secretary. Mr. Frank Cane, executive officer, board of corrections, as coordinator of the entire program of the Special Crime Study Commissions, and his staff cooperated at every point.

As a contribution of the National Probation and Parole Association, the western director, as chairman of the committee, directed the survey and edited the report in consultation with the members; Milton Rector assisted in the compilation of data amassed; the western office employed extra clerical staff.

The first meeting of the survey committee was convened within a matter of minutes after adjournment of the commissions' meeting, and during this and subsequent meetings in which we had the invaluable help of the staff persons mentioned, the following steps were completed—eight under the pressure of limited time, a ninth and final task over a somewhat longer period:

1. Definition of what would constitute the subject of the study within the general assignment.

2. Selection of what elements to examine and what to omit.

3. Preparation of schedules, forms, and questionnaires to be employed in the gathering and compilation of facts.

4. Interpretation of the project to county probation officers and enlistment of their cooperation.

5. Orientation and assignment of field staff to cover state.

6. Field trips throughout state.

7. Assembly, review and interpretation of data derived.

8. Presentation of findings to Commissions.

9. Preparation of final written report for publication and distribution.

In tackling the question of what elements could be properly included for examination and report within the space of six weeks, it was determined to center the study on probation proper, excluding as far as possible such auxiliary services as detention home and forestry camp operations, and such matters as court procedures and probation committee activities—important as these might be.

It was also agreed that the following aspects of probation would be emphasized:

1. Structure—statewide and local.

2. Budgets and staffing.

3. Salaries and assignments.

4. Over-all caseloads—costs and individual staff loading.

5. Services being rendered in terms of their extent and caliber.

6. Administrative processes involved in the foregoing.

A very important decision reached at the outset was that the study deal with probation state-wide, that facts in the main would be reported in terms of departmental groupings based on the populations of the counties served, but that reporting in terms of individual departments would be avoided for the most part and that where personal data was concerned, individual identities would nowhere appear. The aim was to omit no department whatsoever from the huge Los Angeles organization to the part-time Alpine officer, and to keep the study broad, objective and impersonal—certainly a worthy goal. To what extent this was realized is for others to determine as they survey the survey, just as you are invited to do here today.

In the planning stages, our basic technique was to think first of the report and second of the study. From the outline of the report content, we derived the survey items. After all, we were to produce a report reliable and appropriate—one current, streamlined, and hopefully significant

enough to resist premature burial—and so we endeavored to suit the means to the objective which was certainly not to do another survey, but to be in possession of usable facts. For example, we asked ourselves what would commissioners, legislators and others want to know about probation personnel? Educational qualifications? Certainly yes! Their age groupings? Possibly. Their race and religion? Certainly no! Our individual personnel schedule later known as B-10 was evolved in this way. Likewise the forms employed to tabulate the classification, numbers and assignments of probation staff members were evolved. What would the potential users of the report want to see included where caseloads were concerned? We were certain most lawmakers and administrators want to learn the story of over-all volumes and the flow of criminal and juvenile matters through the courts and into the correctional institutions or onto probation.

What part of all correctional work was being channelled the probation way? Since it was not to be a study of persons, “caseloads” and “work-flow” were impersonal terms which could be employed with much less offense than were we addressing our attention to the men, women and children with whom most of us are so closely concerned.

We knew pretty well what was wanted where individual caseloads were involved, the number of investigations handled in a month or year, as well as the persons assigned for supervision to individual officers, and whether these assignments represented adult work or juvenile work or both. Whether we could classify staff responsibilities in terms of superficial case problems was not so much a question of desirability as of availability of this data on short notice.

One of the most difficult problems was evolving a technique for appraising the relative quality of probation services. It was patently impossible to report on the manner in which interviews were conducted, for example, or on the soundness with which case problems were diagnosed, or upon the degrees of skill which were used in a treatment program, if any. On the other hand, it was to us unthinkable to submit a report silent on the matter of the good, bad, or indifferent performance of this vital public service and undoubtedly correlated with the organization, funding, staffing, and administration found to vary so widely from county to county. Under the circumstances, it was decided to assess values in terms of relative completeness of service—not how adult probationers were counselled, but whether they were counselled at all; not how children were interviewed or their homes visited, but whether they or their parents were ever seen again after they left the juvenile court room under “supervision.” In developing such a scale of measurement, two factors

had to be borne constantly in mind:

1. That the data to be gathered must lend itself to objective, quantitative compilation;

2. That only widely accepted and virtually unassailable probation procedures be included—operations which, although omitted by some departments, would none the less be considered as desirable of attainment.

Frankly, the content of this section is reportable here as much for your candid criticism as for your approval. We believe it served its purpose, but as a tool, it needs considerable redesigning.

It took repeated meetings and many hours of deliberation and revision to evolve the final schedule of items used in the survey; the information called for about 900 classifications. For present purposes, they can be reported to you only in their general categories, elaboration on their subsections being held for possible presentation during later discussion:

Background Information—

Information pertaining to probation departments.

Administrative structure, scope and caseloads.

Operating Data—

1. Probation department, budget data.
2. Probation department collections.
3. Educational level of probation officers.
4. Years of experience of probation officers.
5. Previous related experience of probation officers.
6. Incidence of professional registration.
7. Age groupings of probation officers.
8. Probation salary schedules 1948-1949.
9. General distribution of probation staff time.
10. Criminal court convictions and probation.
11. Juvenile cases—official and informal.
12. Individual officer caseloads.
13. Time distribution reported.
14. Relative completeness of probation services.
15. Personnel recruitment procedures.
16. Ratios of clerical staff budgets.
17. Staff hours and prerequisites.
18. Working conditions.

Even before the working outline was completed, plans were under way for what must, perforce, represent a sizable field operation. With final committee approval of study content, forms and questionnaires had to be developed and rushed through production. We resolved to make

them clearly understandable by all concerned, afford sufficient write-in space for some rather large numbers and lend themselves to painless completion and rapid tabulation. This ambitious goal was not attained. Although we spent long shirt-sleeve hours, days, nights and holidays building and rebuilding the needed schedules (we employed a large black-board for the purpose) our best efforts were no substitutes for the method we could not employ, namely the trial run—not in just one department, but in several selected to represent differences of size and organization; policy and practice. There just wasn't time.

While our forms worked well enough in the main, still there were too many captions clear to us but puzzling to the user. Let me illustrate briefly: our form series D, sheet 10, part 2, called for a breakdown of unofficial juvenile cases. But in a few counties there were some instances where official processes were held in abeyance while informal service was given—how to classify?

The physical production of these forms with the layout work, stencil cutting, mimeographing, sorting and assembling involved was a big job in itself. I can describe some of these forms and discuss them at more length if you wish.

Briefing the staff was a most important undertaking, accomplished by further joint meetings with the committee and furthered through continuing communication with the office of the survey director on the "exceptional" situations which proved to be none too exceptional. The working sequence was to be as follows:

1. arrangements for suitable times to call on probation officers
2. mailing of advance schedules
3. personal staff visits to departments (return calls to be held to a minimum)
4. completion of schedules and return to survey headquarters.

Because our field staff had helped the committee develop the survey program, most of them had a clear idea of the objectives and plans involved. This circumstance helped reduce the amount of special assistance and guidance required of the director.

It was agreed that there must be direct field trips into every county and considerable conferring with persons supplying data or completing forms. As a preliminary to the field visits, made mostly to courthouses, large and small, along a thousand miles of coastal counties, throughout the central valley and into the almost snowbound Sierras, there was written a most important letter by President Kay Kunkel of the California Probation and Parole Association, soliciting the cooperation of all probation officers concerned. Another important step was the advance distribu-

tion of selected forms to give the department heads an opportunity to have ready considerable amounts of data. This proved to be a valuable time saving device and helped speed up the completion of individual personnel forms by staff members.

With the beginning of field work, there commenced the inflow of survey packets for sorting and posting. In the main, their completeness was most gratifying, but in some cases they were hard to read, contradictory, partially blank, or, still worse, altered to suit the individual officer. There were a good many footnotes and parenthetic expressions inserted, oftentimes by our field representatives, to explain special items and situations. Thus we received word that the probation officer kept some of his records in his ten gallon hat and had unfortunately mislaid it at the time of the study, and again that, since the department kept no record of the sex and age distribution of youngsters coming to its attention, all 22 of them had temporarily been made into ten-year-old boys while the necessary data was being searched out of the case folders. More seriously, the point is that there should be time to return tabulations for correction or completion and that, in the present circumstance, there was only limited opportunity for this.

The posting of accumulated forms is a task which should never be underestimated, believe me. For us, this operation represented the inspection of over 50,000 items, and the closest collaboration between the clerical force and the professional staff.

The next operation was to draw off the net information in tabular and sometimes graphic form, compute hundreds of averages, discover significances, and interpret meanings to the extent possible. Because of the time limitations here, the reference to this piece of work is necessarily brief, but the man hours concerned in the actual job were counted not in the hundreds but in the thousands column.

Thanks to skillful and unstinting help all around, our committee was able to maintain its working schedule in time for an initial report to the commissions. Our presentation to them was in an all-day session employing an oral report, figures, graphs, charts, blackboards and exchange of questions and answers. Time did not permit prepared manuscripts or completed tables and other data to be placed in their hands, and the point is that others would do well to allow time for this additional step, assuming of course that it were practically possible. To have delayed for this purpose in the California study would have been to miss some precious opportunities for the development and consideration of needed legislation,

From this point, the commissions carried on with constant access to various items of data as needed, and it was through their courtesy that

state salary data was released through the California Youth Authority in time for budget planning in numerous counties. Furthermore, the survey was used in still another fashion as part of the California Probation and Parole Association Annual Conference where, as the companion piece to a paper on "Where Probation Should Be Today,"* it indicated "Where Probation Actually Is Today."

The final phase of the project was the preparation of the written report. Very properly it was to be limited in length to about fifty pages (we made it in fifty-one). Fortunately for those interested in probation, it was guaranteed to have a wide circulation to influential persons and groups outside the immediate professional field, particularly lawmakers and judges. Once more there was a deadline to meet and a schedule of committee meetings to maintain so that the report would in truth be a committee report, in which the work of the writer would be rigorously reviewed.

Essentially, the report was to contain introductory material, an interpretation of probation, presentation of facts derived from the field study, and conclusions. It was to conform to the following pattern:

1. Text, stating and interpreting findings.
2. Pertinent tables accompanied where feasible by charts and other graphic illustrations.

All the assembled data was not published. While some material was necessarily unused in the written report, it is not necessarily wasted. All the records are being maintained, as it is expected that they will yield supplemental material or more detailed information as time goes along.

Turning now to the finished report itself, your attention is directed to the brief statements on adult probation, juvenile work, treatment programs, administration and resources which it was believed would give added meaning to the data which follows.

The six groupings of counties adopted for report purposes are listed with the map on page 12, while on pages 24 and 25, are found population figures, annual budget totals, numbers of professional staff, departmental organization, listing of detention homes, probation operated camps and schools and over-all caseloads, department by department.

The report proper opens with the following explanation of why California has one more county probation department than it has counties:

"Fifty-seven of California's 58 counties are served by a total of 59 probation departments. Mono County has no such office; both San Francisco and Santa Clara have two completely independent departments—one

*Milton Chernin, Dean, School of Social Welfare, University of California, Berkeley.

for adult probation service and one for juvenile. All the rest handle both adult and juvenile work."

While some inaccuracies were bound to occur for individual budget items, they are believed, nevertheless, to be essentially correct in the aggregate.

Personnel information in the following sections contain what has already proved to be highly useful salary data, as well as tabulation of staff time devoted to various phases of probation work.

Perhaps the outstanding information contained in the report has to do with case volumes and staff loads. Only 36 officers were carrying assignments within generally accepted standards; 378 carried as high as 400 work units. Of equal significance is the general deficiency of probation service available to most of the so-called "lower courts" of the middle size and smaller counties especially.

As previously suggested, the completeness of services is reserved for comment during the discussion period because of its detailed nature. Following this, the report includes administrative items of interest where personnel and office management are concerned.

While the survey of California probation and not the story of California probation is the subject of this discussion, I believe it appropriate to read you the summary of our findings:

1. Great inconsistencies of probation service resources exist between one county and another in California.
2. The most populous counties have much better financed, staffed, and equipped departments than the middle and smaller ones.
3. In terms of accepted administrative standards, there is an acute staff shortage in relation to the number of cases currently assumed by most departments.
4. A great unmet need for probation services lies everywhere in the lower criminal courts (municipal, police and justice), particularly in the "middle" population groupings of counties.
5. Adequacy of probation services follows the pattern of best (but less than optimum) performance in the larger communities with a diminution as the less populous communities are taken into account.
6. Deficiencies in reports and records and in the method of compiling them are common; in numerous instances extreme; sometimes virtually total.
7. Probation casework through supervision and treatment is not im-

plemented to the extent which this basic function properly demands.

8. No comprehensive administrative processes except those of consultation and common endeavor operate to unify the policies and performance of California's 59 separate probation departments.

In closing, I wish to acknowledge on behalf of the committee, the staff, and the hundreds of probation officers and deputies whose efforts made the study possible, that, while the report received a wide distribution and a good press in California, it has also enjoyed a most courteous hearing in Milwaukee.

THE DETENTION ASPECT

A DETENTION HOME ACTIVITIES PROGRAM

Richard Allaman

THIS account of the activities program of a detention home aims to describe what actually goes on at one place and to relate some general problems to real events. Thus no apology is made for references to one institution. In speaking only of the activities program, there is no intention to minimize other aspects of detention care such as good physical care, the school program, and medical and case work and other professional services.

The detention home is a small one, operated by the juvenile court, located in a residential district, built twenty years ago and now housing, at different times, two to three times the number of youngsters for which it was intended. One section accommodates delinquent children and another dependent and neglected children; and this discussion deals only with the care of delinquents. Their section is a three-story brick building with the craft room, isolation room and boys' dormitories on the top floor; school and assembly room, conference room, assistant matron's room, and girls' dormitories and day room on the middle floor; and two boys' day rooms, kitchen and two dining rooms and a laundry room on the ground floor. A small playground with a six-foot fence adjoins the building at the rear. Office, maintenance shop and service units are located in the other building which is the dependent section. The usual population is 18 to 24 boys and 6 to 12 girls, with a capacity for 24 boys and 14 girls. Ages range from 9 through 17 years, with a median age for boys of 15 years 2 months, and for girls of 16 years. Average length of stay is 21 days, with most youngsters staying one, two or less than three weeks, many staying a month or six weeks, and a few getting stuck for months. Two men group leaders at a time are in charge of the boys' group, and one woman of the girls, working on shifts. The craft teacher manages the craft room full time; and the school teacher has classes during the school year. The cook handles boys along with cooking, the maintenance man substitutes for group leader on some days off, the laundress has constant and sometimes very close contacts with children. Aside from the teachers, none of the staff have had formal professional training, but all have personal strength, tolerance for troubles, and a prior liking for kids. The superin-

tendent and matron are caseworkers by trade and administrators of a group program by occupation.

A look at what the activities are can be had by a brief tour. Athletics is a large part of the program but not the whole thing. Football is strictly seasonal and is not played in a regularly organized way; touch tackle is played when we go to a nearby park and kicking and passing is done on our small playground. Softball also follows the baseball season, with leadup practice on our playground and pickup games at the park. Basketball takes over the year round as being most readily managed at our place and most generally accepted by the kids. During hot weather, regular basketball is replaced by modified games like "21," and during the season we enter a team in a city-wide league with a practice game and league game each week. Girls join in all these games to some extent. Badminton is popular, volleyball is played but does not really take hold, and other active playground games, like red rover, are played in turn while enthusiasm lasts. Boxing is mostly a cool weather sport but the training and striking bags get a good workout all the time. The trampoline is exciting and challenging, and always in the group one or two youngsters quickly become especially expert, several others can do simple stunts, and still others just bounce. The trampoline is used on our playground during the summer and at the gym during the winter. Weight-lifting, with bar and hand weights, goes on informally on the playground in warm weather and during the winter is organized indoors, with the weight-lifting class holding sessions two or three evenings a week. The school-year program includes twice-a-week afternoons at a nearby Salvation Army gym, and these physical education activities figure in the athletic program. All the boys and girls go to the Y.M.C.A. and Y.W.C.A. for weekly swims.

Arts and crafts are a substantial part of the life of the place. The craft room operates during the school year as one of the school classes, and during summer vacation as part of the recreation program, with five one-hour periods per day. Plaster moulding, braiding, beadwork, small woodwork projects, simple weaving, metal modeling, work with canvas and paper, some model-building and other activities go on there. Aside from the craft room, a considerable volume of model-building goes on throughout the winter as an evening and bad-weather activity. The maintenance shop is used for some woodworking groups of boys, managed by volunteer help. A weekly art class is run by a volunteer. The Indian Room is a dining room to which the kids contribute all kinds of Indian items and decorations, the Rod & Reel Club involves some craftwork, some boys always are building themselves into the place by

helping paint, fix and install things, the Christmas toy repair project is an annual fall event, and a craftwork exhibit at the juvenile court office is a stimulating adjunct of the craft program.

Religious activities include two religious services managed for us by church and community groups, one on a week-day evening and one on Sunday afternoon; daily religious practices, such as blessings at meals and bedtime prayers, and special programs around religious holidays.

Work is handled as an activity, with everybody on one or another of the five clean-up crews after breakfast, all the girls on kitchen and dining room cleanup after supper, and some of the boys on weekly assignments to other work details, including the kitchen crew helping the cook in the morning and washing dishes and tables after lunch, and other cleanups after lunch and supper. The whole group is organized for special campaigns, such as spring housecleaning. Usually any child spends an hour and a half per day on his share of work. Some boys, as volunteers, spend a lot of time with the cook; the laundress occasionally takes on a volunteer helper who usually is a sick youngster, psychologically unable to take part in the regular program; and special help for the maintenance man or other staff people is volunteered by the kids, everything from painting to pouring cement to fixing the lawn to washing a car.

Weekly mainstays of the recreation program for the whole group are the party, amateur hour and movie. The Saturday night movie program is a feature, short subject and cartoon or comedy, the equivalent of a show at the neighborhood theater except that the feature is older—and less expensive. The Sunday night amateur hour is made up of group singing, and songs and stunts by individual youngsters, featuring an occasional skit or original play. A volunteer helps during the week to get amateur hour performances rehearsed and ready for the program. The amateur hour is noncompetitive, loud, and most of the time enthusiastic. The elected Amateur Hour Committee is responsible for promoting and planning the program, along with the staff person in charge. The Friday night party consists of everything from bingo to dancing to wiener roasts in the playground to party games. The Nite Life Committee, elected by the youngsters, with staff advisors plan and manage refreshments, decorations, activities and sometimes publicity for the parties.

Several special interest activities are engaged in voluntarily by the membership of the home. The Juvenile Joystaster is a monthly mimeographed newspaper which is written by the kids, led by the elected Editorial Committee and a staff advisor. It is circulated among the

detention home membership and staff, the Juvenile Court staff, other county offices, and a small mailing list of local and out-of-town persons and agencies. The Rod & Reel Club is a boys' summer activity, made up of twelve members with a waiting list and elected officers, the only club activity in the program. With the staff instructor, four boys at a time go on fishing trips by turns two days a week, leaving in the afternoon and returning in the evening and packing their supper. Dancing class taught by a volunteer has a regular enrollment limited to 12 boys and girls, meets half an afternoon weekly, specializes on ballroom dancing with a little square dancing added by popular demand, and ties up rather directly with the weekly party, at which youngsters frequently want to dance but don't know how. Red Cross night is a weekly school-year activity which features volunteer instructors in separate boys' and girls' classes in first aid, home nursing nutrition, and sex education.

Some summer activities include the whole group: the weekly hikes and monthly picnics. On successive weeks of the month the younger boys', older boys' and girls' groups go hiking for the day with lunch hauled to them; the last week the whole place is moved to some outdoor location for a picnic planned by the elected Picnic Committee and staff advisor.

Two evenings and one afternoon weekly are reserved for visiting by families of children, letter-writing is encouraged and phone calls home are made by arrangement. Walks in the neighborhood by groups are frequent. Kids go with staff members on errands to stores and other places. Irregularly, groups go out to night football games, or entertainments of various kinds including circuses. Keeping pets at the detention home, from Bo the Great Dane to white mice to a lonesome rabbit, has not been successful. Recordings of songs by groups or musical performances by individuals have been highly successful, and are intensely interesting not only to the kids who do them but to succeeding groups.

In the weekly assembly, the whole group meets with the superintendent to elect committees, bring up suggestions and grievances, talk over issues directly related to group life, and hear announcements or explanations about coming events.

It should be kept in mind that this brief sketch of an activities program is a section of the program in the third year of its development. It was as different a year ago as we expect it to be a year from now. The point is that group life in detention care takes time to grow. The suspicion, hostility, and resistance of various kinds with which a group of detained delinquents meet the staff of a detention home which has

no history of a good program cannot be dissolved except by patient effort through many succeeding generations of children under care. In our situation, such effort produced reasonably satisfying results two years after a change from a rather meager, punishing regime. We have watched three factors as indicators of growth of good group life at the detention home. One is the confidence and skill which the adults in the place come to have in a supportive, non-punishing treatment of children, so that a kid can be heard with respect, and dealt with as a worthwhile person. Any detention home staff needs to prove to itself that this kind of treatment works. A second indicator is the ability of youngsters, as individuals and as groups, to relax in the place and start to become free to put themselves into constructive activities. Familiar evidences of relaxation and spontaneity are seen in behavior: the new member who yesterday stared tensely and said nothing when you said hello in the corridor today waves and tosses you a grin from his job in the kitchen; sabotage of the plant and equipment dwindles; heavier forms of misbehavior lessen; runaways become unusual; and while life never is entirely smooth and peaceful, a balance develops which is less easily tipped over by acute disturbances. A third indicator of good group life is the reputation of the detention home among the kids of the community. This can be seen at the home in two ways: the number of former members who come back to visit and who and what they ask or comment about, and the preparation new members have had from things told them about the place by friends who have been there. "Ask any child who's been there," is the best test of what a detention home does, despite the rigors of this standard and the fact that many professional people are aghast at the idea of standing or falling by such a test.

Time to grow is needed by particular activities as well as by the general life of the detention home. This is true of any group activity anywhere, but at the detention home we have noticed four things which take time to develop in any one activity: skill of the staff in management of the special problems involved in a detention care activity; learning of skills by the kids, and willingness to try to learn; acceptance by the kids as an activity approved by the group; and acquisition of supplies and equipment. For example, two years ago the only kind of basketball played at the home was "sissy basketball," a rough variety of the game in which the idea is to put the ball through the goal no matter how—a player runs with the ball and fights over the ball, with no team plays and no rules observed. A group leader made a project of teaching regular basketball. He had to get in and play with the kids—

no sideline teaching was possible. The many skills and highly organized plays of the game were not quickly learned, and the group leader met with resistance from the kids, based in the unsuccessful boy's fear of making a monkey of himself by trying to do something he doesn't know how to do. Three months of sustained support, stimulation, coaxing and prodding got the game going, and basketball has gone on to become the most popular team game in the place. The second year ended with the basketball squad losing one and winning the rest of their games in a city-wide league, and basketball players and the game itself have prestige in the group. At the outset we put up two bankboards on a flagpole and fence corner in a dirt-surface playground which frequently was a mudhole. Bright-colored trunks for playing were an early help in encouraging the game. Later we got the use of a nearby gym, put up additional bankboards there and got shoes to wear on the floor. When we entered the league, we also got use of the Boys' Club gym for practice and league games. This year our playground acquired a blacktop surface and overhanging bankboards were installed with an almost full-size striped court. Accompanying this development, we seem to be getting more basketball players in the group than we used to, but this only seems to be true; the fact is they were always coming here, but the game and opportunities to play and learn were absent.

The activities program operates on a basis of needs of kids—their basic needs for manipulation, activity, movement and noise. No youngster earns the privilege of participating in any regular activity; he has the entire program coming to him as part of his life at the detention home. The aim is to have as good a deal as possible for every youngster, not just for a privileged few. We have seen it work out very simply that an upset kid, if he has a good time at the party, will behave better than he would if he were ruled out of the party because of his misbehavior; or if he goes to the Y for a good swim his tension evaporates. An active morning at the park will restore the good spirits of an entire jumpy group. The only common exception to full participation is that runaways, for a time after their return, out-of-town runaways awaiting return home, and committed children awaiting transportation to state schools, do not go along on activities outside the home; but these few youngsters participate in all activities in the building and during the day on the playground.

Our outside activities, things which we go away from the place to do, may be unusual enough among detention homes to need special mention. They are partly forced upon us by the limited facilities of the detention home; to swim or work out in a gym or play softball we

have to go away from the home because we have no pool or gym or large enough playground. From a slow start two years ago with a circus trip, occasional neighborhood walks and weekly boys' swims, they have grown to a considerable volume of activity, as is shown in a recent summary for an 11-day period during the summer. Thirty-five boys and girls were under care during this time for a total of 331 days' care. Average attendance on outside activities was 15 per day, with an average of an outside activity for each child every two days or five per child. The actual outside activities for one 16-year-old boy were as follows:

- June 20—Walk in neighborhood
- “ 21—Errand with staff to garage
- “ 22—Morning at Riverview Park
- “ 23—Monthly picnic—Huffman Dam
- “ 24—Y.M.C.A. swim
- “ 25—Walk in neighborhood
- “ 26—Walk in neighborhood
- “ 30—Riverview Park—afternoon
- “ —Evening fishing trip—Rod & Reel Club

A new member, the first day or half-day, does not go on outside activities until he is seen by the superintendent and any special questions about his case are checked with the court probation staff. No youngsters go anywhere unaccompanied by a staff person, who goes along not as a guard but as a leader and is present as support for a youngster's own self-control. Routine transportation is provided by Red Cross volunteers. Runaways from outside activities have been few enough that they are not a problem, but the chance of runaways is there and demands alert management. Aside from making many worthwhile activities possible, our going out has great benefits: the outside activities are a convincing demonstration to children that we are not running a jail or punishment outfit; they drain off a great deal of the strain and pressure of living inside locked doors and screened windows, and to a helpful extent they let youngsters feel they are still part of their community and are not entirely banished to a separate stockade as if they were lepers.

Co-ed activities and natural daily contacts between boys and girls should be mentioned. Boys' and girls' dormitories and day rooms are on separate floors of the same building. Boys' and girls' groups rotate separately during the day between work, school, craft and recreation periods. Some boys eat in the girls' dining room but girls will not

eat in the boys' dining room. In the playground and in evening activities generally boys and girls are together, and indeed some activities such as the weekly party and amateur hour and dancing class are directly designed to be co-ed activities. We realize that these practices run counter to generally accepted practices in detention care and might in some quarters stir up all kinds of adult anxieties about sex. We not only have found far fewer troubles in such management than in a regime of strict segregation by sex but, we have seen unhealthy attitudes and excitement about sex relieved and changed in our program. We have a great deal of what we must accept as healthy adolescent behavior between boys and girls, even though we sometimes might wish the adolescent would not be so extraordinarily adolescent; we have some sexual misbehavior but actually it is unusual and not of serious consequence.

The ragged grouping of children at the detention home presents special problems for the activities program. One program has to try to encompass children who differ widely not only in age, maturity and sophistication, intelligence, skills, and neighborhood and cultural characteristics, but in problems and psychological needs. To meet this special situation, the activities program has to be based on the expectation of a low level of skill and creativeness, but at the same time providing opportunity for individual achievement. An activity has to be undemanding and yet offer challenge on a sliding scale adjusted to what a kid can achieve. This is seen clearly in the craft room, for example, where at the same time one youngster may be working on a stereotyped project with ready-made materials, while his neighbor is originating something from raw materials; both are doing craftwork but each is getting satisfactions appropriate to his needs and abilities. Dr. Johnson said of women preachers that the wonder is not that they can preach well, but that they can preach at all. Something of the same point of view is needed in working on activities with children in detention. In view of their troubles and the shock and crisis of their detention experience, we wonder that they can function at all, and some kids indeed come almost to a dead stop; but at the same time they cannot function without things to do and with which they can be fascinated, and they cannot grow without activities into which they can put effort.

Also the program has to meet the variety of needs of the group by offering as varied a repertoire of activities as facilities and staff time and skills permit. If the menu has enough variety of the things needed for good nutrition, a youngster is likely to pick out for himself the diet he needs for the time being. Different kids for various reasons have

different appetites for activities like they have for food. Our cook says you can't have seconds until you clear your plate of everything served first, but from then on you can have more of any items while they last; and in the first place if you absolutely gag on spinach, she might give in a little. A new member, age 16, recently walked into the playground and uncertainly looked around at the trampoline, swings, basketball court, ping pong, weight lifting and so on and asked, "Do I just help myself?" We said, "That's the idea exactly," and he promptly went to take hold of the weights; but if he couldn't try weights he might play ping pong or even play in the sandbox like a five-year-old or swing back and forth and back and forth the entire time on the playground. He should not be forced into an activity which he psychologically gags on, but he should do something except sit and be exposed to nothing but his own problems. The chances are that in being carried along by the group, or in response to an adult he personally likes, his appetite for activities will improve.

The opportunity for choice, some room to grow without the repressive restraint which keeps a kid babyish by not letting him take any responsibility for himself, and acceptance of spontaneity even if it is inept and poorly controlled, still does not mean that the activities program can operate primarily on a permissive basis. Activities at the detention home require more direct and active adult participation and management than children's group activities usually do. The adult may have to hold the play rehearsal together almost by might and main, the group leader is in the game or no basketball is played, the staff person in charge of amateur hour constantly has to remind the group in various ways of the activity pattern of what they are doing. Such adult support and stimulation, together with the establishing of dependable structure in group life, of regular ways of doing things, is the way in which activities go on although the membership of the activities changes. The kids join in and go ahead as far as they can and the activities change and grow through mutual participation by the adults and youngsters.

The camp analogy is the closest one can come to comparing the detention home activities program with familiar group work settings. The detention home is like an indoor camp. In camp, as in the detention home, the plant and staff are there when the groups arrive; the kids come into already-established activities and ways of living; the camp program continues recognizably the same, although it may operate with six different groups during the summer and is made up of activities from which a child may profit during a short stay.

What job does the activities program have to do in treatment of

the children who come to the detention home? From the standpoint of group therapy, it is a special situation providing worthwhile group experiences for youngsters who can't take ordinary groups; experiences needed for personal growth, though they may have no direct impact on the youngster's problems. However, such work with disturbed children constantly edges over into outright repair work, in which problems are modified and behavior changes. The activities program also is a uniquely useful medium for developing the personal relationships through which adults help children, for the development by a child of a strongly favorable feeling toward the people and the program, with the wish to be the kind of person who is approved of in that outfit. Finally, the activities program is the basis for healthy group life, which in turn is the indispensable basis for other kinds of treatment for individual children during institutional care. Detention can be a hostile and barren experience for the child to endure until something else happens, or it can be a worthwhile experience in itself, with its own satisfactions and help for the child. The activities program has much to do with which direction detention care takes for him.

THE DETENTION ASPECT

A DYNAMIC PROGRAM OF INDIVIDUALIZED GUIDANCE FOR DELINQUENT YOUTH IN DETENTION

Henry Lenz

OUR detention and probation program is a very closely integrated service, as the chief probation officer is also director of the social service and activities program in detention. The capacity of our central receiving facility, without the use of our two quarantine rooms, is nine children. This setup is for a county of 180,000 people, where the juvenile court law covers all youth up to 18 years of age. This small unit was developed in 1943, with an individual guidance program in mind, and to date has served nearly 1,000 children.

It is our feeling that Christ set an excellent pattern for us in the manner of selecting the number of men whom he undertook to redirect in their thinking and behavior. Our conviction in this area is very strong after nine years of using foster homes for detention purposes in Buffalo, N. Y. Our experience indicates that acceptable short-time study and redirection is possible only in a small group. We have resisted a larger center through using private homes at times for overflow, in using the child's own home for detention in every instance except where the child's safety or welfare is at stake, or the occasional child from which the community must be protected. We have used the county jail for obstreperous seventeen-year-olds whose behavior should bar them from contact with younger children. This is a very small group and we do it even though we know it is undesirable. Example: Two well-developed brothers with long police records were referred on very serious charges, placed in separate rooms on different floors and seen immediately. Despite our efforts to be helpful, they began to talk with one another in loud and obscene language. They climaxed their oral rampage by breaking off the steam radiators, defecating on the floors and urinating out the windows. The older one was removed to the jail, where he remained until all the necessary examinations and social investigations were completed. Their court hearing resulted in the oldest being sent to the state industrial school for delinquents and the one we retained in detention being sent to a state school for defective delinquents.

Following Christ's example further, we make it possible for not only the detention staff but for the probation officers to make many confidential contacts with this small group. In this way they effect a more rapid understanding and build confidence between the child and worker. We believe that this personal relationship is most essential to good case work.

Most arrested youngsters who are detained have suffered a loss in community stature and personal dignity, and therefore need immediate and intimate aid to regain these losses if a period of detention is to be of value. We have therefore based our short-time guidance program on the philosophy that even the worst offender has importance to the community and personal value, and as such deserves every consideration he is capable of handling. Every possible effort is made to salvage the individual for the community's welfare by providing him with a feeling of personal security. He needs to be shown and to know that someone has time to consider his individual problems. This means immediate contact with the child by detention social workers or probation officers, thus providing him with an opportunity to talk. "Immediately," means within 12 hours. Even though this puts a strain on the whole program, it pays off in time saved eventually.

After immediate recognition has taken place, the second need is patience, and this is especially required of the detention staff. The child is distrustful of all strangers at this point, and we feel that the detention folks' most important contribution is to welcome and accept the child as a guest with lots of worries, and not as a delinquent, and therefore discount as much as is possible of his behavior and looks at the time of referral. Example: Recently a very mean-acting, repulsive-looking, non-speaking youngster was referred on a very serious morals charge. The referring authorities were very incensed and wanted something done with him at once. After weeks of work and testings, an admission to one of the state's schools for defectives was finally arranged. While in detention, under guidance, he responded well to simple directive supervision, and when the time came for him to leave he had learned to speak a few words, care for himself and participate in simple games. The foster parents repeatedly spoke of the progress he was making and expressed a hope that the new program would carry on where they had left off.

In our program, emphasis is placed on the fact that the detention facility is the child's place of protection, not the staff's home into which the child forces his unwelcome person. It is at this point that the home gives the individual a chance to be clean, fed, rested and properly clothed

to enable him to present his case to society. We put it this way because we all know that most delinquent children are those unwanted, in overcrowded homes, in the school and community, and who have become alienated from society. Example: One tall, attractive lad is not wanted at home unless he is willing to work and conform to all of the rules and regulations of an Old World Italian family culture. As a result there is constant strife, bad companions and petty trouble with the police. Relative resources have finally come to the lad's assistance. A very animated sixteen-year-old girl was living with her parents and nine siblings in a seven-foot by nine-foot trailer at the rear of one of our large public buildings. No privacy and much quarreling soon led to running away. This child was subsequently turned over to a denominational school, where she is now living in suitable surroundings and working as a student nurse. A large, homely lad was finally referred for help after numerous police contacts. Having taken the time to learn what made him tick and then helping him to enlist, the following letter reached our desk:

"Dear Mr. Lenz:

"I hope you are having a good time in a darn good country. I am in the Philippines and it isn't too bad here. The weather you can't trust though—it will be nice and sunny out, then in a matter of seconds it will start to rain. It's raining now.

"I hope Jackie changes before long, because he won't get many more chances to do it. What I would like to know is, what ever made you let me go on probation so many times? Other guys aren't so lucky. But I am glad you didn't send me to White Hill now, because I am learning to stand on my own two feet and doing something for other people instead of against them. Maybe the people will forget my part if I ever get back there. And I'm not planning on getting killed, so I'll be back. We always say, 'United States in forty-eight,' and that probably isn't any lie.

"I was just listening to a friendly argument about what is the most spoken and written language between Spanish and German. Pretty good, too!

"Well, I guess I will close for now because I don't know what to say. Nothing new ever happens around here. Please excuse the writing and the spelling. I'm pretty dumb.

"Your friend,"

The delinquent usually is detained only after repeated delinquency or contacts with the law. This may be the last chance society has to make amends for its shortcomings in planning for the youth. Even the tough,

hardened repeater is a human being who will make his contribution to either a good or bad life for all of us. He needs the opportunity to express his feelings and thoughts to an attentive listener who can decide in what area this youth can best be reached, "if at all," and start him up the ladder at that point. With some, it means real detention; others may go home quickly; some need opportunities to look at their behavior, to quiet down, to make plans of their own, to accept others' planning for them, to face court procedure, et cetera. It does not take a good case worker long to put the picture into proper focus.

We try to take our first step in the direction of something the youth wishes to do, if possible, and to give him activity in detention in something in which he excels. Example: One large, attractive, overpolite, gulping, mild behavior problem youth who had done considerable stealing of women's underclothes had to be detained. While in custody, he developed an interest in poetry. During the course of a program put on for visiting teachers, he read something on Abraham Lincoln with such feeling that this interest was furthered, and subsequently the doctors and others who worked with him during a course in intensive psychotherapy used it as a starting point from which additional insight into his personality was gained.

All of us who have a share in the program concentrate on trying not to add additional problems to the ones they already have when they come into detention. This is repeatedly stressed, because they come to us with so many dilemmas they do not need any of us to shut any more doors in the face of their desires, or to lock children in with their difficulties. We strive to open doors of all kinds in order to counteract the feelings of envy, hate and revenge that exist, even in our youngsters. Example: A large, full-orphaned youngster of average intelligence with a number of rejecting older brothers and sisters, most of whom were married and burdened with responsibilities, had to be detained following a series of curfew violations, trancies and purse snatching escapades. Despite our help and the genuine efforts of several clinics, this long-embittered and revenge-seeking youth could not be reached in detention or in a free environment treatment program, with the result that he was gradually prepared for a long-time placement program where the emphasis will be on intensive medical help. Every so often intolerance and prejudices picked up at home rear their ugly head and have to be dealt with expeditiously. This is essential, for our program meets the needs of all youth in the county, a large part of which functions close to the Mason-Dixon Line.

We try to be very realistic and are constantly striving to balance theory

with practice. Therefore, we endeavor to balance wisely the assumption of responsibility with the granting of privileges. Example: Frequently, detained youngsters are allowed to go on shopping expeditions with parents and other responsible individuals. Movies are also allowed as rewards for special effort. Local service clubs provide Christmas parties, Sunshine Specials and numerous other treats, all of which are directed towards and integrated into the program of helping the youngster either regain his lost citizenship or develop it where little previously existed. In this area, we must take risks with the children and we find that the worst troubles rarely result where the greatest chances are taken. Many of the children detained are big youngsters, sophisticated and either very smart or dull; there are boys and girls and some young children. We do not keep dependent and neglected children in our detention facility. That is one of society's crimes against children that we avoid diligently. Our list of guidance problems per child is great, from the simple problems of smoking and foul language to serious sex and mental illnesses. In detention we can and should do little more than plant the seed for an aggressive campaign to lead a good life. Occasionally we can start the children up the ladder towards normal living.

A big toughie was referred several years ago after numerous flirtations with the police. Something good happened to him while in detention, and later he made good progress while on probation, despite a very mediocre mind. Following his discharge, he enlisted in the Army. I have just been advised that he has done very well in Japan with the Occupational Forces. One can never be absolutely sure just what person or part of a program may do the desired thing for a particular youngster. Another girl crystalized most of her problems during her brief stay in Detention. Subsequently she was given an intensive follow-up period of psychotherapy at a psychiatric hospital. Today she is a fulltime pupil in a local beauty culture school. Probationary help is being given to supplement and follow through the detention start and the psychiatric treatment.

For all of our children with more than ordinary problems, we use the mental health clinic and the state mental hygiene examiners. We are given very adequate diagnostic services and occasionally treatment is made available. When help is received from these sources, their diagnosis is integrated with the findings and planning of the other workers. Most of our guidance work in detention is thoughtfully planned by the case workers with the foster parents, schoolteacher, activities workers and probation staff. The actual work, for the most part, has therefore to be done through methods which those having psychiatric services may not

have to use: trips with the workers, shopping, helping about the premises, watching children from the neighborhood who come into use the recreational facilities under the supervision of local service clubs. We use these methods to see how children react to normal situations, what training they have had, and what is their resistance to remedial action.

Guidance is given in positive areas also, beginning with good and plentiful food, rich with the particular needs of growing children. We use parties, movies, craft programs, bird trips, and recordings, not only for physical and cultural education or release of tensions, but for indication to the workers of the child's abilities and needs. The young folks enjoy the arts and craft work particularly. It is here that we see the child who wants to make things for himself to satisfy long-standing desires, the one who makes something for his parents as a peace token or to buy some love and affection. Some need it to do things that will gain them recognition. Many want their art work displayed. This medium is rich in giving clues to a child's torment and problems. An alert worker can get invaluable material for help through these media in understanding and developing countermeasures to be initiated against further delinquent behavior. Our birdhouse building contests have been ever so helpful in reducing slingshot and cruelty-to-animals epidemics. Many youngsters have received invitations to model aviation and railroad clubs, to say nothing of the large group of children that continue their art work in school and after school classes.

Very little corrective action is taken against the children held in detention. We have concentrated on winning over their minds and hearts to constructive behavior. Force, when it has been used, has usually been destructive, as all it does is antagonize or win conformity when a child's strength to resist gives out temporarily.

The only valid excuse for a detention program is that it shall be a positive experience for good. The reports collected from the detention staff for inclusion in the probation report to the judge are invaluable in helping him to inaugurate a more prolonged guidance program. The short-time guidance service can be very helpful in preparing a child for probation; in fact, most of the best probation work can be done at this time. It is pitiful when division of responsibility cuts a probation officer from this opportunity to learn to know his probationer. It is practically the only time an officer can contact a youngster directly for as long as he wishes without interruption from natural home influences.

We try in a constructive way to meet the crisis which every child faces when he is forcibly separated from everything that is familiar to him. The key to this type of service lies in having mature, well trained and ex-

perienced workers who have affection, warmth and understanding and who have consecrated their lives to working for the things they know are right and those they have been trained to do for children. This means a willingness to do the hard, the unusual thing, and to even risk public criticism for individualizing the needs of each child within the letter and spirit of the juvenile court law.

THE DETENTION ASPECT

THE SCHOOL IN THE DETENTION HOME

Sherwood Norman

IF we could, all of us, turn back the years and imagine ourselves having committed some offense for which we were placed in a detention home to await juvenile court disposition, what would we wish for most besides getting out? You would probably wish for two things:

1. Individual help and guidance by someone who cares and would accept you as a person even though he rejected your behavior.

2. Things to do that would interest and occupy you physically, socially, mentally, the entire time you were detained. Not just busy work, not just entertainment, and certainly not the dull, dread monotony of school work as you had previously known it.

Aside from good physical care, these are the immediate needs of the detained child—needs which must be met.

As you know, few detention homes in the United States are given the necessary budget to do their job properly because we have not yet grown out of the human storage concept of detention. This is why emphasis is put on physical needs, while the social and mental needs of youngsters are considered of secondary importance to be met by limited recreation programs, the comics, and by the game of pitting wits against the staff. Often spirited youngsters, convinced that they are failures, resign themselves to hopeless submission and their mental faculties turn numb. When there is no school program to give structure to the child's day, periods of enforced idleness are almost inevitable. Yet a school program can make matters worse if it continues the kind of teaching which has already been an anathema to the child before he was detained. I propose to point out the values of the right kind of school program in the detention home, what a good program is like, and how to obtain it.

Why attempt an educational program? The usual arguments against a school in a detention home are:

- a) The child is detained too short a time for school work to be effective.

- b) You can't possibly duplicate the child's classroom situation, so he can't be "kept up with his studies."

- c) Youngsters held in detention homes are too emotionally upset to learn anything.

d) You can't reeducate them anyway. If the school hasn't done it by this time, how can the detention home do it?

e) It's too expensive. (This is usually the underlying reason.)

If the detention home school operates in accord with a static, human storage type of detention where it is felt that delinquent children don't deserve to have advantages, then it might be better not to have a school in the detention home at all. If, on the other hand, the detention home staff believes that the process of rehabilitation should begin at the point of arrest, and that you can't hold a child in suspension mentally any more than you can physically, then school should be an essential part of the program.

A good detention home school:

a) Gives structure to the child's day and balance to an activities program which would otherwise involve considerable idleness and inadequate mental activity.

b) Doesn't attempt to duplicate the child's grade in school but operates with small groups, individual help and a personalized approach.

c) Provides opportunity for achievement in some special skills in which the youngster may have been weak (remedial work is stressed), and for creative work in art crafts or wood shop, et cetera.

d) Serves as a center of activity projects which detention parents can help youngsters carry on after school and over long week ends.

e) Interprets the youngsters' basic school attitudes and specific problems to the court and to the child's school in the community.

The modern detention home school does not attempt to do all this in a traditional schoolroom setting. A teacher trained in work with difficult children will provide a setting in which the youngster himself sees the value of study during his detention.

The learning process is so directly related to growth (physical, mental, emotional) that what is actually learned is less important than the child's attitudes toward learning. The detention of a child represents a crisis point in his life where attitudes become crystallized. For this reason a good detention home school must have exceptionally well qualified teachers, small class groups and a flexible curriculum. Probably no other type of teaching calls for as much imagination and skill as successful teaching in a detention home. Some youngsters will come to the school prepared to go through hated routines with submission hiding resentment. Others will come in open defiance, having left school two years previously or truanted to such an extent that school has lost all meaning for them. In detention homes with barren programs, some children will actually find solace in a poor detention home school. "The (more aggres-

sive) kids can't bother me here," has often been heard. However, most youngsters will bring with them years of bitter resistance with roots in frustration and failure.

Teachers in detention homes must be aware of the emotional forces which act upon the disturbed child and be able to accept his anxieties and aggressive compulsions without feeling need for retaliation. Disturbed children have been let down by adults so many times that they must feel sure they are accepted before they can cooperate—even in a program which they share in the making. Ideally, teachers in detention home schools should be trained in special education and then carefully selected for their stability of personality and shock absorption qualities. So important does the New York City Board of Education consider the job that the average salary of detention home teachers is over \$5,000. (A \$480 bonus is offered to attract the best.) Good standards would require that detention institutions in our largest cities employ specialists in remedial work, music, shop, arts, physical education, et cetera, but all with the unique qualifications required for handling disturbed children. While not every community can afford such high salaries or training in special education, every detention home, no matter how small should not be without its educational program. Some communities which have no visiting teachers can initiate the program by employing a person trained in both teaching and social work to teach at the detention home half time and do family casework with school children who present difficult problems half time. If it is impossible to secure a teacher through the public schools, one should be employed for the purpose by the detention home itself. Detention homes whose daily population averages 8 or 10 children should have a full time teacher.

After a stream of oaths, a belligerent oversized sixteen-year-old laid down the law in one detention home: "I hain't a been ter school since I wuz twelve and I hain't a going ter start now." He was listed as "probably feeble-minded," and school reports verified the fact that he couldn't read a word. Two weeks later when released by the court he proudly waved a primer in his hand which he could read "from kivver to kivver." This youngster, who was placed on probation, willingly joined a public school adjustment class which he had consistently resisted before. Because youngsters have fought school does not mean that they have no desire to learn. Often their difficulties have been due to being pushed along ahead of their ability without ever having the individual help necessary to master subject matter essential for the next step. In other cases, lack of understanding of the child's problems has transferred indifference on the part of the school to indifference on the part of the

child. This indifference should not be extended by the authorities who detain him.

The almost universally poor reading ability of children in detention homes is only in small measure due to low intelligence. Emotional stresses and strains in the home life of most delinquents, coupled with large classes and bad teaching, especially in the early grades, may produce a mind-set towards learning which borders on hopelessness. To learn certain multiplication combinations, and how to add or to read a book from "kivver to kivver" for the first time, can turn the tide of that hopelessness and set the child on the road to accepting, if not seeking, help. Learning can take place even in one day which will stay with a child the rest of his life.

Although the detention home school has been compared to the little red school house, it cannot employ the same methods. The little red school house has a stable population of children living in their own homes and continuing in school throughout the year. The wide range of intellectual ability, interests and maturity of youngsters in detention is coupled with a transient status and severe anxieties, whether or not they are shown on the surface. In order to reach below surface conformity and provide the necessary individual guidance, classes of not more than ten or fifteen children each are essential. Such small classes cannot be questioned when the wide range of age and grade placement is considered, together with the emotionally disturbed state of the children.

Appropriate curriculum for the detention home school should neither slavishly follow the public school material nor depart from it entirely. "Busy work" (meaningless for the child) has no place in any school program but particularly not in detention home schools. The child must be taken in on the planning every step of the way. A brief but carefully devised testing program should give immediate indication of the child's whereabouts in academic achievement, so that teacher and child together can discuss weak spots and plan what to tackle during the brief stay. The child's own school, which should be notified of the child's detention immediately, should at the same time also be asked to furnish a brief résumé of his academic whereabouts and special problems. (The probation officer may follow up on this later.)

While regular public school texts should be used in the detention home, they should be supplemented widely by a rich variety of special materials on all levels. Remedial materials for individual use, such as cards and loose leaf work books, are essential as are visual aid devices. Ample allowance should be made in the budget for materials and replacement. While only a few children will be in class at one time, many chil-

dren will come and go throughout the year. By using individualized methods which insure the interest of the child and make for greater efficiency in academic skills, it is possible to allow ample time for a varied program including music, arts and crafts, shop and physical education. However, a good detention home school will fit the school's program to the child rather than expect the child to fit to the school program. It is poor guidance to expect a youngster to learn to like spinach, carrots and onions all at the same meal, particularly when he comes to the table in an upset condition. Planning with him so that there is some chance of successful achievement is essential.

With a varied school program, small groups, and a teacher who enjoys teaching children with problems, it is rare to find a youngster who fails to profit even by a few days of such a regime. *If a detained youngster gains a sense of achievement from one constructive thing learned, the detention home school is justified.* This is most apt to happen where the school is activity-conscious. For example, in one detention home a contest was held for the best arrangement of new equipment on the playground. Besides drawing on imagination and creative ability reasons were called for to support each recommendation and scale drawings were made by some children whose practical application of arithmetic was realized for the first time in their lives. In another detention home some of the younger children kept white mice for pets. When they began to lose their hair the boy keepers referred the problem to the school where a wise teacher showed them how to use reference books. Increased salad consumption not only brought back the mice's hair but an upswing in salad consumption throughout the home.

Most long term projects or "units of work" are not practical in a detention home school because of the flow of youngsters in and out of the home. However, enthusiasm for certain activities does carry over as youngsters come and go, provided the projects which may have been teacher inspired are not teacher dominated. One teacher who happened to have an enthusiasm for astronomy had his pupils equally enthusiastic over hanging home-made planets about their room, observing the night sky and making out of ten cent lenses and mailing tubes a home-made telescope which they could take home with them. One youngster said, "I never would a heard of planets if the cops hadn't a picked me up"—meaning that someone cared enough to teach him something while he was detained. Some homes have been successful in using smooth washable walls for mural paintings designed by one group of children and completed by others. In one, a large map of the world was painted on the dining room wall which was squared off for the purpose. This tedious

job took over a year to complete as volunteers gradually added bit by bit. When finished it served as a focal point for informal discussion of world events as well as an attractive mural decoration. Activities of this sort may be initiated in the detention home and transferred to its school, or initiated in school and carried on after school hours and on week ends. This relationship between school and non-school life is important because it helps to break down artificial barriers which make education meaningless to the child. In more than one detention home, former truants, fascinated by arithmetic work books, have been seen pursuing them voluntarily—their choice of an evening's activity.

Invaluable assistance can be rendered to the school from which the child came and to the probation officer making a social investigation of his case for the court through written reports. Because the detention home teacher has more intimate contact with the youngster, it is often possible to discover educational and emotional blockages which slip by teachers of large classes, especially when a child has snapped his mind shut in the face of educational mass production. Schools which have pushed youngsters on from grade to grade for the sake of their "social growth," but ignored individual differences which call for remedial help, need to have specific needs pointed out. Even more important, the detention home school can give helpful information to a child's own teacher and principal regarding the nature of his personal problems and special methods of dealing with them in school. The written report is also helpful to the probation officer in gaining a clearer picture of the child and in working with the school authorities, should the child be placed under supervision by the court.

A detention home school should be what the child's own school so often is not—a place where he receives understanding help in learning at his own level and at his own rate. Children who have been belligerent school problems all their lives have participated in detention home school activities with satisfaction instead of tension and defiance. Often the key to their school adjustment is revealed. But the greatest value is the effect of this kind of school experience on the child himself. Many youngsters who have gone through it return to their own schools with a changed attitude toward their work.

Yet most detention homes either have no school whatsoever, or struggle with the city's cast off substitutes as teachers. The job which demands the greatest skill gets short shrift with the budget. Consequently, children return to their own schools with unchanged attitudes after an officially enforced holiday.

To change this picture, citizens and workers in the field must be

convinced that these children in a time of real personal danger, should be thrown a lifeline by skilled hands. Pressure must be brought for public funds to meet a public responsibility, and demands must be made on county and city authorities to employ skilled teachers as well as other personnel in detention homes. Only then will detention homes become stepping stones to rehabilitation instead of delinquency schools as many of them are now.

THE INTERSTATE ASPECT

Theme: The Development of Interstate Understanding and Action in the Correction Field.

I. CO-OPERATION IN THE TREATMENT OF THE OFFENDER AMONG THE NEW ENGLAND STATES

Harrison C. Greenleaf

IT is a privilege to share in this discussion of the possibilities of greater cooperation among the states in the correctional field, for it would seem that in this field some day a group of states will pioneer with great success both financially as well as in the improvement of the treatment of the offender himself.

I place financial benefit first solely because it sometimes appears that, whether properly so or not, this aspect of any institutional problem arouses more concern and interest among legislators who control the purse strings than the latter which to us, of course, is the more significant factor or the equal of the two. Obviously the offender, whether he becomes the charge of an institution in Maine or in a state with far greater financial resources like New York, for example, should be able to receive the same modern treatment and should be able to have the same up-to-date facilities available for that treatment.

Just as in the field of education where the rich state is in a position to offer so much more than the poorer state, this equal condition does not prevail; but it is conceivable that an equalization of facilities could be brought about if groups of states geographically united could band together their resources to handle certain mutual problems in the field of correction.

There would appear to be no reason why imaginary state lines should intrude themselves to block a constructive approach by a closely knit group of states to a common problem in any field of social welfare.

At least such appeared to be the conclusion reached generally by the Council of New England Governors in 1948 when, under the progressive leadership of Governors Ernest Gibson of Vermont and Horace Hildreth of Maine, initial steps were taken in this direction by the council's appointment of a special commission, representing each of the New England States, to study and recommend ways and means of a closer cooperation in this field.

So far as I know, the New England States' governors were the first to recognize possibilities of closer cooperation among the states in the field of institutions and corrections. They had as precedent an experiment of long standing in New Hampshire and Vermont in housing New Hampshire women prisoners in the Vermont Reformatory.

The committee's task, as set forth by the governors, was, "to determine in what respect the problem of institutional care might better be met on a cooperative basis by the New England States combining their endeavors with one another so as to promote the best interests with the greatest economy."

At its first meeting, the committee recognized it was pioneering in a field full of obstacles, and endeavored to free itself of fanciful illusions about accomplishments that would be outside the realm of practicality. It determined that the major field in which cooperation was not only possible but highly desirable, was the treatment of the defective delinquent. It reached this conclusion because it was unanimously agreed that this is a major institutional problem, common to each state and inadequately handled by most, either because of lack of proper facilities for this type of case or because of their intermingling in state hospitals, prisons and schools for the mental defectives, to the detriment of these institutions. In this group also fell the sex-psycopath, likewise a difficult problem to handle in the routine state hospital, prison, or school for mentally retarded.

The committee recommended to the governors that a single institution should be created to serve the New England States in the care and treatment of this type of patient. The committee suggested that it be established in Massachusetts by the joint appropriation of funds by the several New England States to renovate and enlarge the facilities at the Bridgewater State Farm in Massachusetts. Here, apparently, began the first breakdown of the plan that the committee had thought practical, because it is now my understanding that Massachusetts has balked at this idea, feeling that the major cost would fall upon it. Such was not the intention of the committee, however, because a method for a fair or equitable distribution of the cost of not only the construction, but the operation of such an institution was recommended by the committee. Massachusetts was chosen because of its advanced position in the field of treatment, the proximity of well-established medical and psychiatric services in Boston and because of its central location among the New England States.

The committee recognized its own limitations in the establishing of the legal procedures in setting up such an institution and legalizing

commitments and releases to and from it. It therefore suggested to the governors that this problem be referred to the respective attorneys general to be worked out and established in the form of a compact binding among the New England States for the establishment and operation of such an institution. This would, of course, require ratification by the respective legislatures, but a precedent for this form of government by compact is established and working in the interstate compact for the supervision of parolees and probationers.

Recognizing each state should have some authority with respect to the operation of the institution, the committee suggested that, while its actual operation would be in the hands of the state in which it was located, a Board of Visitors, to act in an advisory capacity and with power to recommend and with the obligation to submit an annual written report, should be established, with two members from each state appointed by the governors.

The committee also recommended that definite commitment and release procedures would have to be established and approved, which would protect not only the general public but the inmate from any discrimination or hardship and, therefore, suggested that a Release Board, comprising one representative from each state be established to pass upon all recommended releases from the institution and that this board should be set up with a professional membership.

With respect to the safeguards for commitments, the committee felt that here, too, definite protection would have to be afforded to everyone and, therefore, recommended the establishment of a board comprising a psychiatrist, psychologist, a jurist and a representative of the general public, which would pass upon all commitments to this institution recommended by the courts.

The establishment of this institution, certain basic principles for its operation, a system of allocating the costs and a suggestion that it could be properly legalized by joint action of the legislators from each state, thus constituted the major recommendations of the committee with respect to the problem that it considered most serious and most amenable to joint action by the New England States.

The committee made certain other recommendations in the field of institutional care and treatment which it considered practical for consideration by the states.

The first concerned *joint* research and study and financing the same through the pooling of appropriations by the several states so that a more complete use of already existing facilities for clinical study and observation of the work in larger institutions and medical centers could

be made available to selective institutional personnel.

The committee felt that, because of lack of appropriations to send qualified personnel for such periods of study and observation, the states were failing to take the best advantage of opportunities for improvement of the work in state institutions.

A third recommendation also involved an appropriation into a common fund by each state, and this recommendation would establish a monthly publication under competent editorial supervision to provide a means of the exchange of information and ideas among the states in the field of institutional management and the care and treatment of patients and inmates.

A fourth recommendation dealt with preventive work at the pre-institution level, and the commission recommended to the attention of the governors the great opportunity that is afforded through the educational facilities of the various states for preventive work, and second, cited the importance of improving and developing out-patient facilities and the value of awakening public interest in good preventive work. This was not necessarily a venture in interstate cooperation; but the committee felt it was of such importance that it would do no harm to call the value of this sort of work to the attention of the governors.

The fifth and final recommendation of the committee was a solely practical one and a legal one which would have to be brought about through the cooperation of the legal departments of the states and their legislatures. This called for a uniform revision of the residency laws so that there would be a uniformity with respect to eligibility for commitment and transfers for institutional care among the mental hospitals, sanatoria and institutions for the mentally defective of the various New England States. It was recommended that one year of residency be accepted by each New England State as the period of residency necessary to make such cases eligible for transfer. In other words, the committee felt that present laws were too complex and diversified and that the best solution would be for the states to agree, for example, that a patient falling mentally ill in Massachusetts, who had lived for the one previous year in Maine, should be eligible for transfer back to Maine for care, and that a great deal of red tape which now exists concerning the transfer of inmates and patients from one state to another could well be abolished, for the benefit not only of the state, but surely of the patient and his relatives.

I hope that you will see from the foregoing that your committee sought to base its recommendations on simple practicality. I hope that we may have planted a seed which will prosper and that eventually

some of these recommendations may come about. It will take the joint and continuing cooperation and understanding of the various governors, the legislators, the legal departments and the institution heads of the various states to accomplish these results. Possibly we are looking too far ahead and we were expecting too much. I am not now associated with this commission but unhappily it is my understanding that Rhode Island, Connecticut, and Massachusetts have seceded, preferring to handle their own problems as individual states. We are firmly convinced, however, that not only can money be saved in these ways, but treatment of patients and inmates which should be our major concern can be greatly improved by the bringing about of closer cooperation, not only among the New England States but among any states which are geographically knit together and face these common problems.

Unfortunately, state administrations change, and it will be difficult to translate these recommendations into actual practice because a continuing interest is fundamental. We do not feel, however, that this fact deters from their value, but rather that it is unfortunate that the care and treatment of patients and inmates and the standards set up for their care have to be victims of political changes and short-sighted policies that sometimes result from such changes, and make a continuing, uninterrupted and sustained effort in this direction so hard to realize in practice. When this does come about, as indeed it will some day, it is my hope that the small contribution of this sincere New England commission may be recognized.

THE INTERSTATE ASPECT

II. FURTHER IMPLEMENTATION OF THE INTER-STATE PAROLE COMPACT IN THE MATTER OF THE APPREHENSION, DISPOSITION AND TREATMENT OF PAROLE VIOLATORS AND FUGITIVES FROM JUSTICE ON AN INTERSTATE BASIS

Martin P. Davis

TWENTY years ago we had no interstate compact with reference to crime. Prisoners released on parole were permitted to go from one state to another with only a semblance of control or supervision. The success of parole depends to a great extent upon adequate control and supervision. With neither control nor supervision, parolees permitted to go to another state were preying on the resources of their communities as well as the lives and security of their citizens. The relationship between states was not good, with the existing feeling that one was foisting its criminal element on the other. Banishment was a common practice whereby a prisoner would be released with the one proviso that he would leave that state and never return. It was apparent that a need for a broader cooperation between the states was essential to success in our war on crime.

In 1934, to make this cooperation possible, Congress passed an act enabling any two or more states to enter into agreements or compacts for the prevention of crime and for other purposes. As a result of this authority to enter into compacts among themselves, we now have the Interstate Compact on Parole and Probation. In 1937, twenty-five states were signatories and today, all but two are members. The existence of the compact and its accomplishment of developing the cooperation, as now exists among the states, represents the greatest step of progress in the correctional field in recent years. We no longer permit parolees to leave our respective controls without first ascertaining through investigation that conditions are satisfactory and are approved by the receiving state. Today the so-called out-of-state parolee receives adequate control, intelligent supervision and necessary assistance and counsel in his efforts toward rehabilitation. In the majority of cases those parolees, who are granted permission to live and work in another state, are making a most satisfactory adjustment. They represent no problem to the community

and most of us will agree that their success is due in a large measure to the existence of the interstate compact.

There is little point in discussing further the favorable features of the compact, with which we are all familiar. Today I would like to discuss certain procedures of the compact which, in my opinion, are not satisfactory and through discussion, may ameliorate present conditions. I refer to that small segment of our parole population, the parole violators, who fail to adjust in the community, persistently abuse parole privileges and indicate by their behavior that they have no respect for the rights of others. The failure on our part to meet the issue that this group presents may culminate as a factor that will tear down and destroy that spirit of cooperation that now exists under the compact.

When we send a parolee to another state under the provisions of the compact, we assume a moral, though not a legal obligation to safeguard that community from further predatory, carnal or other criminal tendencies that the maladjusted parolee often persists in following. Minor infractions of parole may be dealt with a reprimand or warning. The more serious violations usually call for drastic and immediate action to assure those safeguards that every community has a right to expect.

The parole violator represents a serious problem to the receiving state that has the responsibility for supervision but lacks the authority to take necessary action in these cases. The sending state retains the power in deciding what steps shall be taken when the out-of-state parolee indicates by his habits or behavior that he is reverting back to his criminal tendencies.

This complex authority frequently creates situations for the receiving state where an out-of-state parolee becomes involved in a new crime. As the receiving state is responsible for his supervision, it may have recommended that the parolee be returned to the institution prior to the commission of the new offense and the sending state failed to take action.

The following cases are striking examples of this situation:

1. Some time ago a case was referred to our office for investigation with a view of accepting supervision. Subsequent investigation established that the subject was a resident of Massachusetts, had a good home, interested friends and remunerative employment was available. The sending state was advised that we would accept supervision and in due time our subject arrived. He was originally committed for carnal abuse of a female child. It was not long before the parole officer observed this parolee walking down the street with two young children. He and the children were interrogated but there was no evident misdeed. After

a warning he was permitted to go his way without benefit of his young associates. The chief of police was notified and the parolee was again observed with children walking in the direction of his home. In view of the previous warning, the nature of his original offense, coupled with his continual association with children, it was recommended to the sending state that he be returned to the institution. With the explanation of having no funds for travel, the sending state failed to take action. Finally the parolee was apprehended for carnal abuse and is now serving a new sentence in our state prison.

2. Less than a year ago we accepted for supervision a young man who was originally sentenced for robbery. Shortly after the time he was placed under supervision, he gave up his job and was instructed to find work within a specified time—or else. He soon appeared in court for petty larceny. His general attitude followed his pattern of misbehavior and it was recommended that his parole be revoked and he be returned to the institution.

Instead, we received a request that we retain supervision with the hope that he would adjust. Again he became involved with the law, this time for larceny of an auto, and was committed to the house of correction. The sending state then indicated that they would return the parolee after he completed his present sentence that will expire soon. A few days ago I received a letter from the sending state, which in part I quote: "We would like to again express our regret that we are unable to return this man at this time. We certainly appreciate the fine cooperation which you have given us. This man has caused you a great deal of difficulty and most certainly has demonstrated his unfitness for the privilege of parole. In view of our inability to return him, we will appreciate your continuing supervision."

I am conjecturing in my mind the reaction this good news will have on the local police and the courts, to say nothing of the number of other prisoners in the jail where the subject is now confined. The effectiveness of parole cannot but be adversely affected by such occurrences.

There are many other cases of like situations where lack of finances make it apparently impossible to return prisoners. On occasions you get a reply to the effect that he belongs in your state, he is your problem and please deal with the individual accordingly.

It is not my intention to criticize the failure of distant states to return their parole violators. I realize as well as anyone that these omissions are not motivated by a desire to refuse cooperation, but that it basically stems from a question of finances for out-of-state travel. I know this, because

on occasions I myself have been a party to such a failure due to this limitation.

My purpose in discussing this issue is motivated by a sincere desire to find a solution to a problem that concerns all of us and I make the following suggestions for your evaluation of the means of this end:

I. That the administrator of the receiving state should have the authority to issue detainer warrants and his representatives the authority of arrest of any out-of-state parolee under his supervision. This would assure immediate action in certain cases that might well result in the prevention of a new crime being committed. Also, it would be available for the psychological effect that such action would have on certain individuals who, by their behavior, indicate that they are becoming indifferent to their obligations as parolees.

II. That the administrator of the receiving state may cause the detention of said parolee by committing him to an institution of the receiving state for not longer than 90 days.

III. That the administrator of the receiving state may authorize further confinement up to the expiration of the original term of sentence, only after the sending state approved such confinement and assumes the financial responsibility of same on a pre-arrangement basis. The short term commitment, in most cases, would be sufficient to place the minor offender on an even keel and only in unusual and exceptional cases would the receiving state be expected to commit the more serious offender.

IV. That the administrator of the receiving state have the authority to issue a permit for the release of said out-of-state parolee.

V. That the existing authority under the provisions of the compact wherein "the sending state may at all times enter the receiving state and there apprehend any person on probation or parole," be extended to include those parolees who fled as violators from their original state and who had at no time been approved by a receiving state. This extension would eliminate the present rendition or fugitive-from-justice proceedings on those parolees who were never accepted by another state under the terms of the compact. At the present time the right of arrest by officers of the sending state in the receiving state applies only in those cases where a receiving state is involved.

THE PREVENTION ASPECT

THE WORK OF THE CRIME PREVENTION UNITS OF PHILADELPHIA

J. Francis Finnegan

THE Crime Prevention Association of Philadelphia was founded in the year 1932 by the late Charles Edwin Fox, former district attorney for the City and County of Philadelphia; Mr. Samuel S. Fels, a well known philanthropist and president of the Fels Foundation; and a group of prominent citizens.

The purpose of the association, as stated in its charter, is to study the problem of delinquency among youth and to promote the kind of programs that will tend to remove conditions that contribute toward this problem.

The association, in its preliminary studies, took cognizance of the fact that up to that time there was no unit organized in the police department specializing in the prevention of crime among youth. City officials were therefore asked to create such a division within the police department. Since the officials in charge of the police department considered the program suggested for the new division as a serious departure from what, in their opinion, constituted a law enforcement program, their answer to the request of the association was to appoint a lieutenant and two police officers to take charge of this program. Since the inception of the police unit seventeen years ago, it has worked continuously with the association. The staffs of both organizations have shared the same headquarters during this period. While both units are autonomous, the planning of all programs of both organizations is done by members of both staffs. For example, the in-service training programs, which for the past two years have been conducted by Dr. J. P. Shalloo of the Department of Sociology, University of Pennsylvania, are attended by the personnel of both units.

No attempt will be made at this time to trace the growth and development of both the association and the police unit from this humble beginning. Today there are some 68 policemen and policewomen assigned to the police unit, while some 62 persons are working in the various areas selected by the association for consideration. The following is a summary of the work of both units:

It is both basic and fundamental for any organization which has as its purpose the prevention of crime to have in its possession the kind of in-

formation that will enable it to channel its energies and resources into areas of great need, and to evaluate programs set up with the prevention of crime as their objective. We are convinced, as a result of our experience, that the question of evaluation is one that requires serious consideration, in view of the vast amount of money that is expended for the numerous programs that have as their objective the prevention of crime.

The association at the present time gives careful attention to the collection of basic information concerning the problem of delinquency. This information includes the number, age and residence of offenders, the types of offenses committed, and the arrest rate per 1,000 population for the different police districts in our city. Using a new set of social base maps each year, arrests are spotted daily, with the result that we are able to tell the number of boys and girls arrested on any given street in our city up to yesterday, and whether any change has been noted in any particular section from year to year. Information is compiled also about interracial and interreligious conflicts, troublesome gangs, and places that are contributing to the delinquency of minors.

The interpretation of this information to agencies and individuals in our city who are in a position to do something about such conditions is, we consider, a very important phase of our work. This is done in a number of ways: First, through the publication of a quarterly report which indicates by map and chart the arrest rate per 1,000 population of boys and girls for the thirty-five police districts in our city, and the trends in these different districts. These reports are forwarded to some 3,500 organizations and individuals. This number includes some 1,089 churches, some 278 schools, all parent-teacher associations, home and school councils, welfare agencies, metropolitan and neighborhood newspapers and radio stations.

Where the information involves a problem that requires the skills and services of some specialized agency: an interracial or interreligious conflict; a troublesome gang; violation of liquor laws; such information is forwarded to such an agency immediately.

Where organizations are interested in initiating prevention programs, information is furnished by our research department which shows the size and extent of the delinquency problem in the area in which the organization is interested, the dominant age group among the total number of offenders in the area, the kind of work that is being carried on at the present time, and suggestions as to the type of program that would most likely be successful in meeting the problem in the area.

One of the big problems in a large metropolitan city involves the question of reaching children who show signs of becoming problems to so-

ciety, and who are not under the supervision of any public or private agency. Annually there are referred to our juvenile court, in the City of Philadelphia, some 6,000 boys and girls for violations of our laws and ordinances. Approximately 46 per cent of this number are recidivists. The large number of recidivists in our society raises the very important question as to whether we can feel safe in saying that we have done everything humanly possible in the way of utilizing the resources of the community to help youth who show signs of becoming problems to society.

The question of developing a plan that would utilize all the resources in the community was given careful consideration by the association, and as a result a Referral Plan was organized, through which the names of all boys who have been taken into custody by the police, or who are referred to us as complaint cases by schools, agencies, and individuals, are referred once a month to different organizations throughout the city. Using the clubs under the supervision of the association for a pilot program, cases were referred to the clubs with instructions that some member of the staff was to be responsible for visiting the home of the boy to determine the nature of the problem and to use whatever resources were available in the community to help in the adjustment of such cases. The program was expanded later on to include boys' clubs, settlements, community councils, Y.M.C.A.'s, et cetera. Today we have some 55 agencies participating in the plan to which we are able to refer approximately 70 per cent of all cases referred to us by the crime prevention division, bureau of police. During the past year two pilot programs were inaugurated by the Catholic and Protestant churches, through which we refer cases of boys who belong to these churches. We are hoping that these pilot programs will mean eventually the co-operation of the 1,089 churches we have in our city. This should mean that no boy in the City of Philadelphia who shows signs of becoming a problem to society would be without the help of some agency in the community.

From the standpoint of prevention, the plan (which involves committees of both professional and lay people) has values other than just helping the individual boy. For example, as the people who serve on these committees come to know the individual boys and their families, they also become aware of problems faced by these boys, which often include unwholesome conditions in their communities which are contributing to the whole problem of delinquency. Community action to remove such conditions by these people has been the result in numerous cases.

During the early days of the association, limited opportunities for the proper use of leisure time by youth in areas with high rates of delinquency,

plus the general thinking which prevailed at that time as to the value of recreation as a preventive measure, found the association taking a very active part in the promotion of recreation programs. Today the association manages and directs some twenty-six full and part time recreation programs as part of its work.

What about the contribution of recreation to a prevention program? After we had been in the business of managing and directing recreation programs for a few years, we did sit down and attempt to evaluate this work. The study disclosed some very interesting facts. For example, we noted that where recreation programs were organized in the community, they resulted in a reduction of the minor offenses or misdemeanors, or what we call "hell-raising" activities. However, our study did not indicate that we were meeting with any success in reducing the number of serious offenses. While we were able to get some satisfaction out of the reduction of the minor offenses, we were faced with the question as to whether a recreation program could be effective in helping in the adjustment of cases of boys who become involved in the more serious offenses, and who as a rule became serious problems to society. The attempt to answer this question resulted in the inauguration of the Referral Plan, which was referred to previously in this report. We are confident that the experiment will prove eventually that recreation if used properly does have therapeutic value in the adjustment of behavior cases.

Philadelphia, like other metropolitan cities, has had its problem with boy gangs. Some cases involved feuding among gang members, which resulted in the death of a number of members of these groups and, in certain instances, innocent bystanders.

Four years ago, with a special grant from the Community Chest, the association initiated a program in a section of the city which was then considered the worst in the city from the standpoint of gang problems. The purpose of the program was to determine whether techniques could be developed that would be successful in redirecting the energies and thinking of these groups. Considerable care was exercised in selecting the two men assigned to do this job. Step number one in the plan called for an intensive study of every street corner in the section, the records of every boy in the district who had been arrested during the past year, the collection of information from the police and other sources as to the gangs that were the most troublesome, and finally, interviews with all groups in the community that were in a position to help in this work.

Starting with what were then considered the eight most troublesome gangs in the area, the two men, over a period of time, were able to develop the kind of relationships that resulted in making it possible to or-

ganize them into clubs with their own officers and programs. To overcome the feuding among these groups, which was one of the objectives of the program, representatives of the eight groups were brought together to discuss the formation of an organization that would be set up to provide leagues, tournaments, and other activities for member groups. This resulted in the formation of an organization which is governed by a board of managers made up of two representatives from each group in the area. The organization has been successful in promoting better understanding among these groups; for providing such activities as leagues and tournaments in all major sports; indoor games; trips to major football, baseball and basketball games, and other places of interest; and most important, an opportunity for these boys to participate in the planning of such activities. The organization, since its inception, has had a remarkable growth. Today there are 46 member groups, with a membership of 848 boys. Similar programs have now been started in two other sections.

In projecting this program we had the help and co-operation of a number of groups; for example, the newspapers were most generous in allotting space to tell about the activities of the organization, the schools and the churches co-operated by granting us the use of their facilities; we also had the co-operation of the community councils, police, home and school councils, and other groups.

While we are not ready at this time to offer as evidence of success for this work an arrest rate that is considerably lower than when the program was organized, we can offer as evidence the fact that the feuding among the gangs has been virtually eliminated.

What about the work of the Police Unit? The following will give you some idea as to the major phases of the work of the division:

- (1) The men of the division are assigned to districts with high rates of delinquency, where they investigate all problems involving youth. A special detail patrols the central section of the city from 9 p.m. to 3 a.m., checking bus terminals, movie houses, pool rooms, dance halls, and any other place that may be contributing to the delinquency of minors.

- (2) The division is charged with the responsibility of investigating all complaints received from parents, schools, social agencies, and police concerning youth. There is very close co-operation between the board of education and the crime prevention units. For example, last year the division serviced 1,180 complaints referred by the board of education.

- (3) It investigates all establishments serving young people.

- (4) It maintains close co-operation with all public and private agencies through visitations.

(5) It has men trained especially to handle situations involving tensions among racial and religious groups.

Anyone reading or listening to this report would be justified in assuming that the major emphasis in this report has seemed to be in the control of delinquency, rather than prevention. Down through the years, whenever the prevention of crime has been discussed, there has always been reference to the need of a co-ordinated attack. One that would envisage consideration of all the important areas that affect the growth and development of children. While we have recognized the need for this kind of an approach in Philadelphia, setting up the kind of machinery that would make this possible in a city of some 130 square miles, with a population of two million people, has presented a difficult problem. To the National Conference for the Prevention and Control of Juvenile Delinquency, held in Washington during November, 1946, we owe a vote of thanks for giving us both the incentive and some of the techniques to set up the kind of an organization which made this possible.

Shortly after the Washington conference, a small group of people from Philadelphia who attended the conference in Washington informed representatives of health and welfare agencies as to the work of the conference. Following this meeting, it was suggested that a conference, patterned along the same lines as the national conference, be held in Philadelphia. A general planning committee was organized to consider steps to set up the conference. It selected for consideration what, in its opinion, were the nine most important areas affecting the lives of our youth. The following were the areas selected: church, community co-ordination, community neighborhood, home, police, juvenile court and detention facilities, recreation, school, and treatment resources. Recognized leaders in the areas chosen were invited to chair panels. To aid the chairman, a small executive committee was appointed to help in planning the work of the panel.

The first general meeting of the conference was held on May 15, 1947. In attendance were 451 lay and professional people, who represented 110 different organizations. The tentative agendas prepared by the executive committees of the nine panels were presented to the conferees by the chairmen.

All panels used reports of the national conference as a point of departure for their work. Our own innovations included: cross-representation on all panels so that problems in each area would be considered in relation to other areas; providing panel chairmen with minutes of all meetings in order to give them and panel members some idea as to the progress of the conference as a whole; finally, allowing each panel to determine

the length of time it needed to do a complete and comprehensive job.

The procedures followed by the panels were somewhat the same; that is, after reviewing the agenda submitted by the executive committee, the objectives of the panel were listed on a priority basis. Where it was found necessary, qualified persons were invited to help the panels in their deliberations. Whenever further study had to be made, a committee was appointed to make this study and report its findings and recommendations for further consideration.

One of the real contributions of the conference has been the opportunity it provided for representatives from the various organizations to meet and to discuss their problems in relation to the services offered.

Today, after some two and one-half years, the panels have completed their work. They have made 237 specific recommendations. Here in these recommendations are to be found the things that must be done to give us a real prevention program. Every important factor that is likely to affect the growth and development of the child was considered. In order to avoid having the conference result in nothing more than another set of recommendations, careful consideration was given to the problem of implementing the recommendations. A continuing committee, which is chaired by the Honorable Nochem S. Winnet of our municipal court, has been set up. Up to the present time, 31 of the 237 recommendations have been implemented. To complete the job will take good organization, hard work, and a lot of time. The continuing committee recognizes these facts. It is determined to see that the result of the labor of these 451 men and women will not be just a report, but truly a better Philadelphia. We in Philadelphia look upon the continuing committee as another city planning commission, whose job will be not one of physical improvement, but the improvement of the human and spiritual resources of the community.

THE INTERNATIONAL ASPECT

ACTION OF THE UNITED NATIONS IN THE FIELD OF PREVENTION OF CRIME AND TREATMENT OF OFFENDERS

Adolphe Delierneux

TOO many people become acquainted with the activities of the United Nations only through the headlines of the press, which gives full publicity to the political situation and the clashes which occur in the Security Council and the First Committee of the General Assembly. Few people are acquainted with its other activities, even with those of these two bodies. It is fortunate that a forum exists where difficult international political problems can be discussed, even if, under present circumstances, they cannot be solved. These problems exist, of course, and they constitute tragic reality, but it is better to face rather than to ignore them, in spite of the inherent difficulties. This forum is, if I may say so, a safety valve, allowing the pressure to be released which otherwise would tend to provoke explosive conflicts. Even if the organs of the United Nations solely served this purpose, they would be rendering the world a tremendous service.

The United Nations has many other activities. The charter states in one of its principal articles (article 55) that:

“With a view to the creation of conditions of stability and well being which are necessary for peaceful and friendly relations among nations based on respect for the principle of equal rights and self determination of peoples, the United Nations shall promote:

“(a) higher standards of living, full employment, and conditions of economic and social progress and development;

“(b) solutions of international, economic, social, health, and related problems; and international cultural and educational co-operation; and

“(c) universal respect for, and observance of, human rights and fundamental freedoms for all without distinction as to race, sex, language, or religion.”

Allow me to refer very briefly to the activities of the Economic and Social Council. I shall not enter into details, but I would just like to give you a few facts.

Let us take the economic field. During the recent discussions which took place at the last meeting of the Council in Geneva, stress was laid upon the vast problems requiring technical assistance in under-developed areas and the important role which the United Nations and its specialized agencies could assume in order to promote higher standards of living and the social well-being of the people of those countries, which represent more than three quarters of the world's total population. The General Assembly will decide within the next few days what action the United Nations should take in this field, and this leads us to believe that next year that organization will embark upon an extensive programme of international action.

We come now to the social field, which is of special interest to you. I shall mention briefly the declaration of Human Rights, the draft convention which is now being prepared in connection with the freedom of the press, the fight against narcotics, and finally the mission of the Social Commission and its Division of Social Activities, which embraces many varied problems, among which we find the question of the prevention of crime and the treatment of offenders.

Why does the United Nations concern itself with this problem?

Because it is of an international and universal character. Crime is a social malady which the world has endured since its origin; a malady which all communities have to face. It is only during the last decades that the phenomenon of crime has really been understood and a scientific and rational method of approach devised. It is realized at last that this is a complex problem, based upon biological, economic and social factors; we have learned that the criminal is a product of our own making and that we share the responsibility of his acts.

Leaving aside this general aspect of the problem, one realizes little by little that the criminal is an aspect of "human wastage"—one of the more dangerous aspects—and that it is not only for humanitarian reasons, or only for the protection of society that we must deal with it, but also from an economic point of view. The recovery of individual wastage claims attention more and more, and is a constant economic care. Those who, in the course of the last few decades, occupied themselves with the problem of crime have realized how little importance, in fact, has been attached to the study of the criminal, of the human being, how much has remained in this field an unknown quantity. That is due not only to the immense complexity of the problem, but even more to the fact that man is not the focus of interest which he ought to be. When one compares the trouble which men have taken to study matter, to extract its secrets, with what has been done and is being done for the study of man, one is

shocked by the contrast. It is one of the saddest aspects of our civilization.

The process of evolution between technical and human progress resembles in a striking way the growth of some children whose intellectual development advances very rapidly, while their moral development remains backward. Too many have a static idea when it concerns research related to human beings, when towards matter, however, they have a dynamic attitude. Strange paradox and strange conception of relative values.

During the last few centuries, society has assumed towards its social misfits attitudes which can be summarized as follows:

(a) Social misfits are considered as persons possessed of evil. In past centuries, society chained and burned lunatics, it beat syphilitics, it sent offenders to the gallows or galleys. In one word, it followed the policy of purification towards some, elimination towards others.

(b) The metaphysical idea: man, with the only exception of lunatics, was considered as an abstract entity, provided with free will, full control of his judgment. If he deviated from the normal, it was that he wished to do so, and he was therefore responsible and had to submit to the consequences. *Punitur qui peccavit.*

(c) The idea as sequel of the ideology of the French Revolution which, however, did not have lasting realization until the beginning of this century, and which recognized: (i) the duty of society to protect itself efficiently against an anti-social behavior, and (ii) the right of the social misfits to be assisted if possible in view of their social rehabilitation.

(d) Anthropological and sociologic approach which shows that social misfits are, in great majority, and end-product of their morbid predisposition and social and economic factors, and that society has to accept a large part of responsibility for its misfits. This conception is slowly prevailing in the most advanced countries, but the great majority of the populations of the world is still living in less if not under-developed countries, and the treatment of offenders there is still based on conceptions or principles which are out of date, to call it very mildly.

Here, the importance of the United Nations' action in this field appears clearly. It can be summarized in a very few words: on one side, to promote in advanced countries, through exchange of information, of experience, of research, the improvement in the progressive way of prevention and treatment; in less and under-developed countries, on the other side, technical assistance to help them avoid the mistakes we have made during our evolution, and to advise them in building up progressively an efficient, human, scientific penal administration. In other words,

it is not a surprise that the Economic and Social Council has given a high priority to the question of study and action in the field of the prevention of crime and the treatment of offenders, to the Social Commission and the Secretariat.

At the end of 1946, in 1947 and the beginning of 1948, the policy-making bodies of the United Nations had endeavoured to determine:

(a) who would assume the leadership for international action in that field,

(b) the policies and procedure to be followed by those who would undertake that responsibility,

(c) the machinery to be established for the implementation of the above-mentioned decisions.

It was only at its seventh session, in August, 1948, that the Economic and Social Council finally solved this question and decided that:

(a) in view of the importance of the study, on an international basis, of the problem of the prevention of crime and the treatment of offenders, the United Nations should assume leadership in promoting this activity,

(b) this should be done having regard to international and national organizations which have interests and competence in this field and making the fullest use of their knowledge and experience,

(c) as regards the formulation of appropriate policies and programmes for the study on an international basis of the problem of the prevention of crime and the treatment of offenders and the international action in that field, the Secretary-General and the Social Commission should avail themselves of the advice of a group of internationally recognized experts not to exceed seven in number and selected in such a way as to maintain the international character of the group.

The guidance in the field of international action would be assumed in this respect by the United Nations, i.e., the Social Commission, the Economic and Social Council, and, if necessary, the General Assembly; the secretariat would be assumed by the Department of Social Affairs, Division of Social Activities.

The Economic and Social Council has at the same time given priority to this question.

The United Nations has thus given action in this field in scope and forcefulness which the League of Nations did not, since it was only partly concerned with this problem.

Thus, since August, 1948, the United Nations could go ahead with the planning of its international activities in the field of the prevention of crime and the treatment of offenders.

Let us summarize briefly on the one hand what has already been ac-

complished, and, on the other, the future programme.

Allow me to state at the beginning that we do not overlook the international organizations, such as the International Penal and Penitentiary Commission, the International Association of Penal Law, the Nordic Associations of Criminologists, the International Bureau for the Unification of Penal Law, the International Criminal Police Commission, the Howard League of Penal Reform, the International Institute of Statistics, the International Law Association, and the International Union for Child Welfare. The services rendered by these organizations and the pioneering work they have undertaken have not been forgotten. The torch of progress which they have borne is now also carried by the United Nations, which realized its responsibility and the difficult task it has before it in order to promote, on an international basis, a progressive programme for the protection of society through the prevention of crime and the treatment of offenders organized on a methodical, scientific and human basis: a field so extensive and where so much still remains to be done.

In view of the decisions adopted by the Economic and Social Council, in August, 1948, it was essential to create within the United Nations the necessary machinery to give effect to these decisions; a Section of Social Defence was therefore set up within the Division of Social Activities. This section is at present composed of a chief of section, M. Amor, formerly Director General of the French penal administration, and of seven professional officers. Attention had to be given not only to the scientific and technical competence of these officers, but to the question of geographical representation. This small team comprises experts from North America, Latin America, Europe, Africa, and the Far East. It thus forms a group with different cultural and social backgrounds and with varied scientific methods of training which allows it to approach problems from a truly international angle.

It was also necessary to define a programme of research and action. The following programme of research was endorsed by the Economic and Social Council:

Study in conjunction with appropriate bodies of:

- a) probation,
- b) fines, (in connection with short term imprisonment),
- c) open penitentiary institutions,
- d) prevention and treatment of juvenile delinquency, (in all its phases including the study of advanced legislation on the subject)
- e) treatment of habitual offenders,
- f) medico-social examination of adult offenders after found guilty, but before sentence is passed,

- g) criminal statistics, (with a view to a report on the state of crime)
- h) general inquiry into the functions of the medical, psychological, and social sciences in dealing with the problem of delinquency and crime,
- i) training of staff for penal institutions.

The following studies are at present being undertaken and will be submitted shortly to the Social Commission, prior to their publication:

- a) criminal statistics,
- b) probation,
- c) juvenile delinquency.

It seems useful to mention here the nature of this research programme. We do not pretend to be purely a centre of scientific research. We could never undertake a task of that nature. True scientific research falls within the competence of scientific centres which have no other responsibility. It has to be carried out in a calm, undisturbed atmosphere, and not in a feverish atmosphere such as prevails in the United Nations. Much the same as industry avails itself of research laboratories in order to improve the technical methods of production, the section of social defence has to avail itself of means of research in order to improve existing methods with respect to the prevention of crime and the treatment of offenders and for that purpose to take into account the results of scientific research conducted by the various organizations mentioned above.

This shows how very valuable is the collaboration of these organizations, of these searchers. It also means that the studies undertaken by the United Nations have an essentially practical goal. Thus, the study on criminal statistics will demonstrate the need for establishing through international action the minimum standards for national statistics which may serve as a basis for future action. The study on probation will show that there are methods of social defence more efficient, more economical and more human than imprisonment. It will also tend to promote the application of these methods and to put at the disposal of governments which request it, the necessary technical assistance with a view to the organization and adaptation of these methods to their social structure. The study on juvenile delinquency may result in the adoption by the United Nations of standard minimum rules for the treatment of juvenile delinquents with a recommendation to member states that they should accept these rules, the United Nations affording them where necessary technical assistance in order that these rules may be put into effect.

With a view to carrying out successfully the task assigned to it, the Secretariat endeavours to obtain the co-operation of specialized agencies, of international organizations, and of highly qualified experts. Such col-

laboration is of major importance in strengthening the action of the United Nations. To this end two meetings have already been organized by the Secretariat, one in Paris at the Palais de Chaillot, and the other at Lake Success. The following interested specialized agencies and international organizations participated in these two meetings:

International Labour Organization,
World Health Organization,
United Nations Educational Scientific and Cultural Organization,
International Association of Penal Law,
Nordic Associations of Criminologists,
International Bureau for the Unification of Penal Law,
International Penal and Penitentiary Commission,
International Criminal Police Commission,
Howard League for Penal Reform,
International Institute of Statistics,
International Law Association,
International Union for Child Welfare,

and the following resolution was adopted:

"The representatives of the specialized agencies and of the international organization having met in Paris . . .

UNANIMOUSLY DECIDE to give to the Secretary-General of the United Nations their full co-operation in order to assist that Organization in carrying out the programme of studies drawn up by the Economic and Social Council and submitted to the Conference, in the hope that, in view of the number and complexity of the problems connected with the prevention and treatment of crime, this plan may be progressively implemented . . ."

The Secretariat has also endeavoured to organize progressively working groups composed of national experts in order that they may give their views on the various problems submitted to them. Thus in the United States for instance, three groups exist:

1. Working group on adult offenders under the chairmanship of Mr. Sanford Bates;
2. Working group on probation, under the chairmanship of Mr. Joseph Murphy; and
3. Working group on juvenile delinquency under the chairmanship of Dr. Katherine Lenroot.

These groups have sent in their first reports which will shortly be published. Similar working groups have been set up in several other countries.

The programme of action is intended under resolution 58(I) of the

General Assembly, to provide governments, upon request, with the necessary technical assistance in order that they may improve their respective penal administrations. Such assistance is provided in the form of experts sent either individually or in groups, by the awarding of fellowships to suitably qualified officials in order that they may observe and familiarize themselves with the experience of other countries; by the organization of regional seminars where problems of mutual interest are discussed, and, if necessary, by the organization of demonstration centres.

This type of technical assistance in the field which interests us has already been extended, in one form or another, to about thirty countries. This is one of the most constructive means of international action in the field.

I have mentioned before that the programme of research has been endorsed by the Economic and Social Council. The Council had requested the Secretary-General to convene a group of experts in order to advise him as regards a more permanent programme. The group of experts was composed as follows:

<i>Mr. Sanford Bates</i>	American
<i>Dr. Denis Carroll</i>	British
<i>Prof. Donnedieu de Vabres</i>	French
<i>Dr. J. M. Kumarappa</i>	Indian
<i>Dr. Jose Augustin Martinez</i>	Cuban
<i>Prof. Thorsten Sellin</i>	American

I have endeavoured to explain how much your work interests us, and to what extent we are ready to assist you. Together we struggle against crime, and for social peace. The progress in this field is slow and difficult, even in the most advanced countries.

Years ago, I was taken a prisoner. I spent long months in a German penal institution in Sutchau, right up to the end of the first world war. I felt prison life in my bones. For fifteen years thereafter, I lived as a prison reformer amongst delinquents and criminals. I have concentrated my attention on the human material afforded by the prisoners. I have tried to see and to understand.

If we still have such a need for high walls, bars, repression, it is because our ignorance is still such that we are powerless when confronted with the problem which crime presents.

We are only just beginning to understand and to perceive new solutions.

In years to come people will be as astonished at our present penal system and administration as we are when we consider the way in which society protected itself against crime in the past.

THE MENTALLY DEFICIENT ASPECT
*NEED FOR SPECIAL CARE AND TREATMENT
FACILITIES FOR MENTALLY DEFECTIVE
DELINQUENTS*

Reuben Oppenheimer

THIS Congress exemplifies one of the great principles of our federated system of government. Each one of our forty-eight states, as well as the federal government itself, is confronted with the difficult and tragic problems involved in endeavoring to protect our respective communities against crime. Each of our forty-nine governments, in that endeavor, is faced with the peculiar problems presented by the criminal mental defectives. No phase of crime is limited by state boundaries, but under our democratic system, each of our states is a laboratory in which we can study and attack these problems in the light cast by the advance of penology against the background of our local conditions. In groups such as this our plans can be analyzed, compared and strengthened.

We, in Maryland, in approaching this problem of the criminal mental defective, have learned much from the work which has been done in other states and the studies which have been made by members of your organization. We are particularly fortunate to have as our superintendent of prisons a former president of your Congress, Harold E. Donnell, who, through his own experience, is so familiar with the work of prison authorities throughout the country.

We have made two analyses of the Maryland prison population with particular reference to the proportion of inmates who are mental defectives. One of these studies was made a year ago, the other in the last few weeks. Both tests were conducted by our own psychologists; the first was made under the guidance of an advisory committee of psychologists and psychiatrists from the Johns Hopkins University and the University of Maryland; the second was conducted by our own recently established classification division. Each test showed that over fifteen per cent of our prison population have I.Q.'s of less than seventy. Psychotics were not included, as under our law, the criminally insane are not confined in a penal institution.

The proportion of feeble minded and low-grade moronic prisoners in Maryland is evidently larger than the proportion indicated by

surveys made elsewhere. Dr. Lloyd Yepsen, in his address to this Congress in 1948, referred to the study made of 32,000 admissions to the New Jersey State penal and correctional institutions and schools for juvenile delinquents over an eighteen-year period. It showed an over-all percentage of mental defectives of about nine per cent. The total Maryland penal population is approximately four thousand. Maryland is a border state with all the sociological problems involved in its location. The comparatively large number of criminal feeble minded in our state penal institutions may reflect, in part, local social and economic conditions. The large percentage of the criminal mental defectives which we have found, however, only intensifies for us the problem with which all states are confronted.

We have endeavored to analyze the nature of the crimes for which mental defectives were committed, as compared with the crimes of the non-mental defectives. To that end, studies were conducted at the Maryland Penitentiary, our maximum security institution. Over-all, approximately one half of the mental defectives in the penitentiary were found to have been convicted of crimes involving killing and sexual offenses. Only about one third of the non-feeble minded prisoners had been convicted of the same kind of crimes. In other words, the proportion of mental defectives convicted of the most serious types of crimes is almost one half again as large as the proportion of the non-mental defectives convicted of the same crimes. Over one sixth of the inmates convicted of killing and over one fourth of the inmates convicted of a sex offense were mental defectives. Over sixty per cent of the mental defectives in the penitentiary were found to be recidivists.

Our studies do not pretend to have the scientific accuracy necessary to substantiate a broad statement of fact, but they do strongly indicate that the criminally inclined feeble minded are a particular menace to the peace and order of the Maryland community. Despite this conclusion, however, it appears that within an institution the mental defectives present no greater difficulties than the rest of the prison population. In the penitentiary, no marked difference was found in respect to infractions of institutional disciplinary rules as between the mental defectives and the other inmates.

Another conclusion is made clear by the investigations which we have made. There is general agreement among those in charge of our state penal institutions that, for the most part, the criminal feeble minded do not and cannot profit from the programs of rehabilitation designed for the penal inmates as a whole. There is further agreement that, in general, the presence of many of the feeble minded and low-

grade morons is a deterrent to the successful operation of the educational and work projects in which other inmates are engaged. These conclusions do not rest upon statistical analyses, but are based upon the reports of men trained to observe the work of their institutions on a day-to-day basis.

Within the last few years, the administration of justice pertaining to criminal cases and criminals in Maryland has been subjected to a scrutiny unprecedented in the history of our state. The governor and the General Assembly were properly disturbed by the increase of crimes; some horrible murders committed by mental defectives or psychopaths aroused the entire community; medical authorities emphasized what they considered to be the failure of our criminal law to take into account proved achievements of our psychologists and psychiatrists. As a result of these and other factors, six different committees and commissions devoted months of study to various aspects of the Maryland criminal procedure. Fundamental changes in the criminal law and the administration of justice were recommended. Certain of these recommended changes pertained to the treatment of criminal defectives, both mental and emotional. The reports of these various committees and commissions, particularly with respect to the criminal defectives, were by no means in complete agreement. Hearings and public discussions ensued. Finally, at the suggestion of the board of correction, representatives of the interested groups met to discuss their differences insofar as they pertained to matters within the correctional field. As a result, unanimous agreement upon a definite program of action was reached, recommendations were made to the governor and General Assembly, and those recommendations are now in process of consummation.

One of the most important of those recommendations is to build a new correctional institution. This institution, for the beginning of which funds have been appropriated, is to contain one or more completely separable units for the criminal mental defectives.

There is general agreement in Maryland, by all groups and agencies which have considered the matter, upon two basic facts with respect to the criminal mental defectives. First, many of them, with proper education and treatment, can be made law abiding citizens who can safely be returned to their communities. We know that no education can give a mental defective normal intelligence, any more than surgical treatment can restore a leg to a man born without one. We also know, however, from the experience of other states, that many of the mental defectives can be made capable and desirous of earning a living in a

law abiding way if they are given work and education geared to their limited capabilities. We have been encouraged by the practical results obtained by institutions such as Napanoch, in New York. When Angelo Syracuse, Napanoch Supervisor of Education tells us, as he recently did, "it is a matter of fact that mental defectives are capable of being effectively educated," and that most of them . . . "are capable after proper treatment and training of satisfactory social and economic adjustments in suitable environments," he is giving evidence of an experiment which has been proved successful.

Second, we realize from our own experience that the treatment which many defectives need is not being given to them and cannot be given to them in our existing institutions. The work and educational programs which we have in operation, are, and under existing limitations must be, adapted to the inmates of normal intelligence. Many of the mental defectives, because of their handicaps, cannot take part in these programs. Their inability to do so increases their sense of inferiority and strengthens their anti-social inclinations. In an institution where the mental defectives are the norm, these difficulties disappear. Experience elsewhere has proved that, in such an institution, the defectives, in the main, are anxious to co-operate in programs into which they can fit. Many of the criminal mental defectives do not seem to have the characteristics of inordinate vanity and ruthlessness so often present in other criminals. The absence of these characteristics, in itself, enhances the opportunities for rehabilitation if a suitable environment is provided.

Not all mental defectives need separate institutionalization. With the decrease of the penal population in existing prisons which the new institution will bring about, some of the feeble minded can be adequately cared for and treated, to the limited extent of their capabilities, in the present prisons and reformatories. But we know that, for the most part, the peculiar menace which the criminal mental defectives present to society is not being lessened and cannot be lessened by any treatment which can be given them under existing circumstances.

No facet of a sociological problem can be dealt with as an isolated phenomenon. What of the criminal feeble minded, who will not or cannot respond to the special treatment which the new institution is to provide? How is society to be protected against the probability of new crimes by such inmates upon their release? The feeble minded are only part of the defectives; what is to be done with respect to the criminal emotional defectives who have normal or greater than normal intelligence, but who are as much of a menace to society as the feeble

mind? How are the defectives of either class, mental or emotional, to be dealt with in courts of law so that sentences may be imposed calculated to protect society against them, by rehabilitation, if possible, and if not, by incarceration for life? All these problems have been considered in the various studies to which reference has been made and a program has been agreed upon which attempts, at least, to deal with all of them.

One of the joint recommendations which has been made to Governor Lane and the General Assembly is that the criminal law be amended, so that, subject to certain vitally important conditions, any individual after conviction for a crime and after a court finding that he is a defective delinquent, can be given an indeterminate sentence, without maximum or minimum limits. The basis of the recommendation is the protection of society. It is believed that the criminal defectives, both mental and emotional, constitute a particularly dangerous class against whom it is essential to safeguard the community. It is believed that some criminal defectives should be confined until, as a result of the special treatment which they need, it is safe to return them to the community and that if they cannot be cured, the protection of society demands that they be confined for life.

Two examples of Maryland's need for such a law may be given. A man with considerably less than average intelligence, but not an imbecile, was convicted of setting a number of fires for no ascertainable reason except his own pleasure. Under the legal definition of insanity, he was found sane, but it seems evident that, as a practical matter, he cannot distinguish between right and wrong. If he had the proper kind of treatment and education his criminal proclivities, at least, might be eliminated. The penal system has not now the facilities or personnel to give him the special treatment and education which he requires. No other institution in the state can take him. There is every prospect that, upon his release, he will continue to set properties on fire.

A man was just hanged for brutally killing a little girl. He had previously served a ten-year term for other sex crimes, but under the law had to be released at the expiration of his sentence. He was either a mental or emotional defective, or both.

We know that indeterminate sentence statutes with respect to either mental delinquents or sexual psychopaths, or both, are in effect in New York, Pennsylvania, Massachusetts, Ohio, Illinois, Michigan and Minnesota. England has had an indeterminate sentence procedure under its Mental Deficiency Act since 1913, and Sweden since 1937. We have

examined the provisions of all those laws and recommended a series of steps for the protection of the individual, both before sentence has been passed and while under commitment. We have asked that such an indeterminate sentence law be drafted in consultation with the state bar association and other interested and informed groups. It is my belief that such a law will be drawn and passed to become effective when the new institution is ready to receive persons committed to it.

The proposed law would deal with psychopaths, whatever their intelligence, as well as with the feeble minded. We realize, however, that it is essential that the feeble minded should be dealt with as a separate group and in general should not be housed or treated with the emotionally unstable. While the new institution will have a separate unit for housing some psychopaths, we are determined that the quarters for the feeble minded and low-grade morons who are not psychopaths, shall be completely separate. The practicality of such a segregation in one institution is shown by the arrangements at the Federal Hospital for Prisoners at Springfield, Missouri. At the same time, future experience may show that some of the feeble minded psychopaths may be helped to such an extent that they can be dealt with in the same manner as the other mental defectives. Provisions will be made for possible rearrangements without impairing the fundamental principle that the mental defectives, as a whole, should be completely segregated.

The definition of criminal psychopaths is, of course, far more difficult than the definition of criminal mental defectives. As Dr. Paul Schroeder said in his address to this Congress in 1947, on "The Unstable Offender"—"it seems clear that no clinical entity has yet been defined and that at best the classification of psychopath is a convenient semantic device. It tells how certain persons behave, but it does not tell why."

The report on one of the Maryland commissions suggested that, "a proper definition of defective delinquents would be those individuals, who, by the demonstration of persistent aggravated anti-social or criminal behavior, evidence a propensity toward criminal activity and who, on the evidence of standard test and clinical procedures, reveal either intellectual deficiency or emotional disorder, or both."

Whatever definition may be finally arrived upon as to the defectives who, after conviction for a crime, would be subject to the indeterminate sentence law, provision must be made for the ascertainment of such defectives, both among persons charged or convicted of crimes before their sentence, and among persons already committed to other state penal institutions. It is agreed that the new Maryland corrective institution is to contain a diagnostic clinic. This clinic will be available

to the courts for pre-sentence studies of persons convicted of crimes, including those who are suspected of being defectives. It will also be available to the other penal institutions and reformatories for further classification and study of inmates for whom such additional study seems advisable. This clinic will not be a general reception center for all persons convicted of crimes. If, at some time in the future, such a general reception center is deemed advisable, the diagnostic clinic can serve as a basis for such expansion.

In arriving at the decision to have a diagnostic clinic, rather than a general reception center, we have been largely guided by the conditions which exist in Maryland. We have a classification division, under which there is a classification committee in each penal institution. We are constantly trying to strengthen and extend the existing classification services which we have on an institutional level. We know that an adequate and carefully selected staff is essential if the proposed new institution is to serve the functions for which it is being built. The erection of new buildings, in itself, will not fulfill those functions. In our planning, we have kept in mind that it is sounder and more practical to proceed step by step than to embark on an over-ambitious program which could well fail for a lack of an adequate staff.

Moreover, under the Maryland law, transfers of inmates between the various penal institutions of the state can be made by administrative action, without recourse to the courts. There will be no difficulty in sending inmates from other penal institutions to the new institution for criminal defectives for further study. Through the facilities of the clinic, the classification work now under way in the state's existing four penal institutions, can be correlated and strengthened. The location of the clinic in the institution for the criminal defectives will centralize facilities for the treatment of the defectives, as well as for the study and classification of persons referred to the clinic by the courts, or by other prisons or reformatories. Like the quarters for the psychopaths, the diagnostic clinic will be a self-contained unit.

The new institution will be planned to house approximately six hundred inmates, most of whom will be mental defectives. It will have ample shop and classroom facilities and grounds for farming. Each unit will be expandable, so that if and when experience makes it advisable to have additional facilities, they can be provided without departure from the original basic principles. We plan to so build the institution that we can separate the mental defectives, for whom there is hope for rehabilitation, from those committed under the proposed

indeterminate sentence law whose release is found to be unsafe for society.

The new institution will house only male defectives. It is contemplated, however, that it will be built on grounds adjacent to the women's reformatory. That reformatory is built on the cottage plan. After the new institution has been completed and the inevitable wrinkles have been ironed out, it will be relatively easy to build a separate cottage for the female defectives on the grounds of the women's reformatory. Such a cottage would have available to it the services of the expert staff of the new institution.

These are our plans. They are still far from consummation. We have been fortunate in having a governor and a legislature interested in our objectives and in having an informed local press which has kept those objectives and the reasons for them before the public. The new institution will not eliminate crime in Maryland, nor will it rehabilitate all of the criminal mental defectives. Despite the large proportion of the most serious crimes committed by defectives, they still form a small minority of our penal population. The need for strengthening the program for the rehabilitation of the remainder of that population will not be lessened by building the new institution or the passage of the proposed legislation.

Yet, even with these qualifications, it is one of the encouraging facts of penology that the mental defectives, on the whole, constitute a group for whom much can be done. It is paradoxical that apparently we can do the most for those inmates who have the least. To the best of its ability, Maryland intends to meet the challenge of that paradox.

THE GROUP THERAPY ASPECT
PROGRESS REPORT OF THE GROUP THERAPY
PROJECT AT
THE NATIONAL TRAINING SCHOOL FOR BOYS
WASHINGTON, D. C.

James Thorpe, M.D.

GROUP therapy has been in progress at the National Training School for Boys in Washington, D. C., for the past two years.

This report will concern itself with certain ideas which have crystallized during this period. In order to clarify what we mean by "group therapy," certain observations will be made concerning the dynamics of group processes as they have unfolded themselves during this period. The initial phase of the report will deal mainly with these dynamics and also with the idea of how the group process is helped or hindered according to the anxiety of the therapist.

The second idea that I would like to discuss is the role of the institution itself in any evaluation of work achieved by group therapy. This aspect of the report will concern itself with an examination of the need of evaluating the therapeutic "climate" of the institution and the need for understanding the attitudes and systems of beliefs of the significant personnel within the institution.

Lastly, I should like to spend some time on the concept of therapy personnel. That is, what sort of people can do group therapy, whether or not they have to be specifically trained in psychological science, and some suggestion as to how untrained personnel might acquire specific training in group techniques. At the end of the report, a brief statement will be made concerning the present status of group therapy at the Training School and some statement as to future plans.

Regardless of the size of the group, whether it be a group of five or six boys, or a whole cottage of sixty; whether the boys have volunteered for the group work, or whether they were assigned to it as a detail by the administration; the interpersonal relationships in group therapy have been observed to manifest themselves as follows: Initially, there are a series of testing operations. These testing operations might be divided into, first, a therapist centered testing operation, and secondly, a group centered testing operation. After the group has worked through

the various testing operations, they enter the phase of what we call acceptance operations. These again, initially, are therapist centered and finally are group centered.

After the therapist has structured the group situation and has delineated the roles of the therapist and of the group, the boys in the group generally understand quite clearly that the therapist is coming down to help them work on some of their personal problems. However, they do not accept his statement at its face value, are hesitant to begin this type of relationship with an adult, and immediately begin to test the therapist in as many ways as possible to determine whether or not they can reject him and prevent his initiating any relationship with them, as well as attempting to find out whether or not he is capable of helping them discuss their problems. These testing operations may manifest themselves in a gripe stage, during which the boys complain of the food, of the officers, of the judges who sent them there, et cetera. This gripe stage is soon followed by a so-called gimme stage, where the group is saying to the therapist "get us better food," or "get us two movies a week," or "get us better clothes," etc. This is a series of devices aimed at ignoring and denying the therapy situation as well as testing the therapist. If the boys are unable to understand clearly what they are doing, the therapist can suggest that the group is trying to deny a dependency relationship with him and then work on the responses to this.

The boys may direct a more active type of treatment at the therapist. In this instance they may hurl spitballs at the therapist, throw paper airplanes at him, or even attempt to give him a hot foot. Depending on the ability of the therapist to handle this sort of situation, the boys will either express their hostility to him verbally or physically.

During this testing phase, some boys will heckle one specific boy vigorously to see what the therapist's response will be. Others will attempt to force the discussion of one member's problem against his will, in order to find out whether the therapist will protect him from their punitive action. The therapist must meticulously avoid taking sides. He must give support carefully to the oppressed boy. He should also inform the participants that boys cannot be forced to discuss their problems if they do not wish to do so.

The group will attempt not only to abuse the therapist but will see if they can seduce him with flattery. Anyone who tries this technique is called an "eatmore," a term coined by the inmates to describe in contemptuous terms a boy who will attempt to seduce an authority figure. The therapist must be careful not to be seduced by the eat-

more, for as soon as he does the group will dissipate rapidly and he will find himself talking to the one boy. He should attempt to reflect these various statements back to the entire group. While these latter testing operations may be seductive, they may also be a method by the group to tell the therapist that he is all right as an individual but not to try any therapy with them. The therapist can, from time to time, point out to the boys what they are trying to do, should reassure them that he recognizes their operations, and finally restructure the group situation again to them.

After the group has tested the therapist in almost every possible way, certain members will begin to establish a very tenuous dependency relationship with him and indicate that they might be willing to express their problems in the group, but cannot as yet because of the uncertainty of group reaction. This reaction is observed usually during the third or fourth month of therapy. Testing of the therapist still continues along the same lines, but in a less frantic manner. Fear of ridicule, hostile acts, and humiliation at the hands of the group prompts such statements from individual boys as, "I can't discuss my problem with the group because they will laugh at me." Fear of reprisal after the therapy session may cause such comments as, "I won't talk about my problem because those guys will kid me later." The therapist can offer reassurance by stating that the group can work on problems arising in institutional life if they do not feel ready to discuss personal matters sympathetically. They can also try to work out the problems of fear, ridicule, and humiliation. An individual will test the group to see how antisocial it will allow him to become. This boy's overt aggressive behavior may result in too much anxiety for the group to sustain. The other members may immediately withdraw their support of him by indicating clearly that "this is going just too far." Some boys may attempt to present an anxiety-arousing problem which is common to many of the group. Depending on how far the others have progressed, they will either permit such a boy to continue or will shout him down. The group testing procedure is carried further when certain participants attempt to determine what other members of the group will lend support. They will raise a question for discussion and observe those of the group who align themselves with the problem presented. The supporters may verbalize their alignment or they may really move to the vicinity of the boy who is presenting the problem. The rest of the boys may continue chaotic behavior in an attempt to disrupt the session. The therapist should constantly be alert to those manifestations of testing procedures and should repre-

sent them succinctly to the group.

Throughout all these testing operations, the members are critically observing the therapist and themselves for any evidence of anxiety or punitive action. If they recognize either one of these reactions among themselves or in the therapist, the boys will intensify the ambivalent testing procedures and, as far as the therapist is concerned, will either accept him as an incomplete personality, or will attempt to work out their difficulties with him. If the group accepts the therapist as an incomplete personality, it will continue therapeutic progress but will remember the therapists's failing and will punish him by rekindling his anxiety if it feels rejected by him. The group is equally responsive to its own anxiety and takes punitive action accordingly. Such reaction may take the form of giving each other the silent treatment, as well as punishing the therapist for his failure to be "a good father" who settles their difficulties.

The testing operations so far discussed may progress serially from one session to another or may occur simultaneously, or may even occur at times when the group has organized itself into a fully functioning therapeutic unit. They occur generally, however, during the first three or four months of therapy. It must be emphasized that it has been observed that, whenever the therapeutic process is prolonged beyond a reasonable period in the testing phase, the anxieties of the therapist should be examined. It has been rather definitely established that the anxieties of the therapist should be recognized as an important factor in understanding what is happening in the group. This is so because they in turn produce group anxiety, which necessarily impedes the establishment of a therapeutic relationship.

When the group has begun to feel more or less secure with the therapist, it indicates that it is ready to accept him. This is the phase that we call "acceptance operation, therapist centered." Initially, the therapist is looked upon as a figure in authority who will maintain order, act as an expert, and protect the group from its own individual members as well as from the institution. An impasse in dialectics may result when several of the boys try to present a problem for discussion while the remainder continue to prevent any attempts at therapy. The same situation was described under the section on group testing operations. The difference between the two lies in the fact that at this stage the boys have begun to accept the therapist. Should they be unable to present a problem, they will say, "we have a problem but how can we talk about it with the group messing up? Why don't you tell them to shut up?" Another indication is the group's asking the

therapist, "look at these guys lying around here sleeping and playing cards. How can we get anything done if they are going to do that? Why don't you do something about it?" The therapist can assure the questioners, and at the same time reassure the more inattentive members by saying, "this is your group and hour. If you wish to participate in it you can. If you do not wish to do so, you don't have to. What do the rest of you think we should do about these guys who are messing up, sleeping, and playing cards?" The therapist should attempt to get the participants to work out these difficulties themselves. Two groups of boys may be discussing opposite poles of a problem, are unable to reach a decision, and call upon the therapist for support of each viewpoint. The therapist can rephrase and clearly state each side of the question and then ask why the two groups have taken their respective positions.

As the process of acceptance progresses, the entire group may be discussing some subject and turn to the therapist for advice or information. When members of the group ask for an answer to a specific issue and the therapist feels that they are ready for an interpretation, he may explain it to them. However, if the group does not accept his interpretation, the therapist should not force it upon them but should continue to have them work out the solution for themselves. All of these phenomena indicate that the boys are beginning now to accept the therapist as a counselor who can be trusted, rather than as an authoritarian figure.

At this point, the group can express hostility to the therapist without encountering immobilizing anxiety within itself. If the group becomes hostile to one of its members, it may be indicating that it is not yet able to accept the projected hostility. For example, one boy may slyly accuse another of "baiting" an officer, when he knows that he himself has participated in the same type of behavior. If the group finds that projecting hostility to one of its members is too anxiety-laden, it may become more comfortable in projecting the hostility upon the therapist, who should not be punitive or resentful in return.

If, in this stage, the boys feel rejected by the therapist, the hostility directed at him is more personal—it comes falteringly, awkwardly, and as though they were punishing themselves.

The final phase is that in which the therapist is accepted as a participant in the group. He is no longer referred to as "the man," but is seen as an older, more experienced member of the group to whom it may turn for interpretation. Complaints can be discussed from a more realistic approach without asking the therapist for help. The

group will accept the protection which the therapist may give to individual boys who grow anxious when under group scrutiny, but in such instances may caution the therapist against over-protection. If the members of the group suddenly cease discussing one boy's problems and fail to turn attention to their own, there is tacit realization on the part of the boys that they have pressed the matter too far, and on the part of the therapist, that he has not given the individual under attack sufficient protection.

Whereas in the initial stages the group is not disturbed by any unexplained absence of the therapist, it readily manifests feelings of rejection, expressed as hostility to the therapist, for unexplained absences during this latter period of development.

Before the group fully accepts itself, problems of individuals are directed to the therapist rather than to the group. Other members, however, may enter into the discussion of another boy's problem. The discussion here is prolonged and more intense, whereas in newer groups, similar discussion is both short and sporadic. This change is one of the significant indices of therapeutic progress.

Experience at the training school has shown that, when the group has accepted the therapist, it enters the last and most valuable part of the group therapy process. Progress into the final stage develops when members of the group begin to accept each other. This we call "acceptance operation, group centered."

One of the first indications of this advancement is the spontaneous organization of the boys when the therapist enters the room. They indicate, "we are here to have therapy." Concurrently, the participants begin to refer to themselves as "the group." Another acceptance procedure is the selection of a chairman to maintain order and control certain recalcitrant members who may attempt to disrupt progress. The chairman maintains order while one boy speaks. He requests others to raise their hands to be recognized by him and asks one boy to speak at a time. Some chairmen may initiate discussion and review group process prior to the end of the session. Individual boys, instead of projecting their difficulties on another boy for discussion, may now freely state their own specific problems. Symptomatic of this type of acceptance procedure is the chain reaction effect on the group when one boy relates the pertinent aspects of his personal experiences. There follows a rapid outpouring from other members of personal experiences which they believe to be relevant to the discussion. Occasionally the problems of a recalcitrant individual are brought forward for a realistic discussion without hostile intent to him. If hostility is shown, one or more members of the group may rally

to his support or may point out that this punitive behavior is not therapeutic. At this stage, however, the group does not become anxious if a recalcitrant person refuses to discuss his problems. One member will generally dismiss the boy, saying, "well, if he doesn't feel like talking about his difficulties, there is little that we can do to help him."

Once the group has become cohesive, it responds unanimously to any sense of rejection with a spontaneous, free flowing hostility to the therapist. The group can now better tolerate any anxiety engineered by this behavior because it draws support from its own cohesiveness and is aware that the therapist "can take it." In the same manner, any silences which before were fraught with anxiety can now be better tolerated by the group. The therapist's role during these sessions has gradually become that of a competent listener and interpreter.

When an individual problem is suggested for discussion, the boys listen, ask relevant questions, consider the problem during many sessions, and attempt to alleviate the anxieties of the person presenting the difficulty by giving well-meaning advice. The therapist can gently encourage this technique and help the group to realize any mistakes it may make. When either the boy is dissatisfied with the advice given him by companions, or the group realizes that this approach has not produced any radical changes, a new approach is adopted. The members may then request additional pertinent material to guide them in pointing out to the individual the patterns of his behavior.

The therapy situation has now become analytically oriented. The group indicates the manner in which the boy is helping himself and leaves the continuation of the process to him. If the chairman does not summarize progress made by this particular type of group, the therapist should give the group an opportunity to do so. If he cannot, he should assume the task himself. If the group bogs down in the process of uncovering certain patterns of behavior in an individual boy, the therapist should stimulate further discussion by use of judicious questions. Generally, however, the group assumes the function of the therapist and proceeds according to the standards he has established.

The acceptance operations which have just been discussed may occur simultaneously or in sequence. The experience at the training school indicates that, for one group of boys, the complete testing and acceptance operations will take approximately six months. Discharges and new admissions will necessarily slow down these operations, and if there is too large a turnover, the group may regress from an analytically oriented session to the earlier "therapist centered testing operation." Needless to say, the time required for the group to progress from an early chaotic group

of people to an analytically oriented group, focusing on its problems, is very much a function of the security of the therapist and his lack of anxiety.

In the course of the previous discussion the term, "anxiety," was used. We would like to make it clear that we are using the term in a very specific sense. We define anxiety as "feelings of discomfort or tension that arise when present experience is centered about past unpleasant experience which has been repressed."

Much of the anxiety that the therapist brings to the group is a result of his own lack of personality integration. Due to the therapist's own inadequacies, he may anticipate a fear of not being accepted by the group, based on his need to be accepted by others. When the group in the testing phase begins to deny the dependency relationship being set up, the therapist may misinterpret this phenomenon as hostility or rejection. This "fear" may also be accentuated when the boys appear to ignore the therapist by playing cards, talking among themselves, or giving the therapist the silent treatment. Another aspect of the therapist's personal insecurity may be his fear of violence. This is evidenced when the members begin to fight with each other or test the therapist by personal attacks, such as tugging at his clothing or giving him a hot foot.

Fear of ridicule may manifest itself when the group begins to hurl contemptuous and vindictive epithets at the therapist. If the boys sense a feeling of discomfort in the therapist, they may even threaten to attack him, in order that he may lose face in the eyes of the other authorities at the institution.

The necessity for accomplishing positive results for the group, born of the impatience on the part of the therapist, may further impede the group's activity. He may be made anxious by seemingly indifferent attitudes displayed during the testing stage and feel the need to convince the group that it has real problems which can be solved.

The feelings of inadequacy in the therapist may be highlighted by the interest, suggestions, and presence of the rest of the non-therapeutic staff of the institution. The personal analytic work of the therapist, insofar as it brings into awareness the lack of personal integration in each doctor, may increase the doctor's feelings of insecurity and conceivably carry over into the group situation. The group may accidentally strike an area laden with anxiety for the new psychiatrist when it shouts at him, "you don't know what the hell you are doing."

In the course of some processes, the participants may be made anxious and manifest this by apparent loss of interest. The therapist may feel intensely the lack of communication between himself and the group. He

may cease to be spontaneous and in the end be immobilized by his anxiety.

The previous manifestations of anxiety on the part of the therapist have all been within his range of awareness. He has realized the connection between the feeling of discomfort or tension and the interpersonal situation existing between himself and the group. In addition, the therapist may experience various somatic complaints which reach their intensity prior to the session, or he may begin to experience diarrhea, insomnia, loss of appetite, backaches, or general fatigue between sessions. These latter symptoms may convince him that he is too ill to hold the group hour. Only much later may the therapist realize that his somatic illness was the reaction to something discussed in the meeting which he was not prepared to recognize as part of his own problems of living.

Although the therapist may not develop somatic symptoms, he may show evidence of anxiety by sleeping through the therapy hour, or by experiencing extreme difficulty in getting to the hour on time. In a further variation of this phenomenon, the therapist comes to the session so anxious that he remains silent or uses any distraction to avoid assuming his proper role. He may converse with the observer or consciously fall in with the avoidance reactions of the group because of his own anxiety.

These are some of the main types of anxiety which the therapist may experience that tend to prevent his conducting adequate group therapy sessions. These anxieties must be recognized and dealt with accordingly before the therapist can be of any service to the patients.

Although group therapy has its own unique dynamics and growth processes, it has been our experience that it is very dependent on the establishment of a therapeutic climate within the institution itself. We defined this climate as a sincere interest on the part of the institutional personnel to get a clear picture of the boys' problems and an interest in giving the boys an opportunity to work out their problems within the confines of the institution. It has been our experience that a lack of this therapeutic climate will prevent the group from progressing. This observation is so important that we feel that, prior to the inception of any group therapy program in any institution, the therapist should spend considerable time with the significant personnel within the institution to acquaint them with the concepts of the program and his unique role within the institution. We feel that the therapist's role is that of a person trained in the study of personality and its deviations, who is available for use by the institution and does not purposefully try to upset the organization of the institution.

The therapist may begin to achieve this therapeutic climate by first trying to get a clear understanding of the people who are working within

the institution who will have to deal with the boys. This may be done by formal meetings with these people to acquaint them with the concepts of the therapeutic program, or it may be done by simple day to day interpersonal relations with these people in the course of his work. It is very important that, prior to the onset of therapy, the institution have confidence in its therapist and a fairly clear notion of what he intends to do and how it will affect their institution.

After the groups have been begun, participant observation of the groups by the personnel of the institution is certainly recommended to give them a clearer picture of what is going on in the group sessions. If this latter procedure is resorted to, it must be very strongly borne in mind that the groups themselves may evoke a great deal of anxiety in the observers who are not therapists. It is the role of the therapist after these sessions to explain to the observers what has gone on during the therapy hour.

The utilization of administrative machinery to integrate his program into the institution is part of the therapist's job. The extent to which the therapist will succeed in integrating his program into the institution will, to a great extent, depend on his own personal security and his own ability to deal with people who may not agree with him.

In the course of our two years' work at the Training School, it has been necessary to initiate at least three separate programs of group treatment. Out of this experience has come the fact that there are rather common problems incident to the introduction of a group therapy program within the institution. The first thing the institution will want to know is, "will the institution be threatened by the inception of such a program?" This can be handled by assuring the administrator that the permissiveness, characteristic of the group sessions, pertains only to the therapy hour. Any behavior that the boys engage in after the therapy hour must be handled as such behavior is usually handled. At the training school during the past year it is the opinion of the administrators, that runaways and misconducts for unacceptable behavior have been reduced more than 50 per cent. The only change in the institution in the past year has been the inception of a group therapy program. If the personnel within the institution still feel that the group therapy program is a threat to their security, it indicates that the therapeutic staff has not successfully sold their program to the institution.

Another idea that arises in terms of a new program is, "will it cause a riot?" It can be stated here definitely that, in the two years at the Training School, we have had no riots, and in the three or four years that group therapy was used in an Army detention barracks, no incidents of riots among the inmates due to group therapy were reported. As a

matter of fact, one riot that occurred at this detention barracks was successfully handled by the group therapists.

Most institutions have the common problem of the acquisition of sufficiently trained personnel. It has been our observation that the interest in initiating group therapy programs in various institutions far exceeds the number of people who are available as trained group therapists. Some comments on our ideas of therapy personnel might be in order.

We do not feel that an adequate group therapist necessarily must be a trained psychiatrist or a trained psychologist, although ideally these people would be best suited for the job. A group therapist should be a person who is secure in his dealing with others, and who has a fairly clear notion of his own problems and his own limitations. Given a person of such endowments, we might say that with training, he could become an adequate group therapist.

Group therapy cannot be taught didactically; the only way to acquire skill and understanding in the techniques is by participant observation of groups with a group therapist over a period of time, followed by the actual taking of groups by the new member under supervision. This could be done by sending people to a site like the National Training School, where they could observe many types of groups. There also they might in time take groups under the supervision of trained therapists. In the Washington area we are also fortunate in having probably the most adequate group therapist in the country, Dr. Joseph Abrahams, who has been conducting group work with the criminally insane at St. Elizabeth's Hospital for the past three years. In addition to observing and participating in the groups at the training school, the trainees could observe Dr. Abrahams in his work with more seriously disturbed patients. It is our estimate that approximately six months to a year of participant observation by a new member should fit him for handling groups in an adequate fashion.

It will probably be noted by some that, in spite of a vast amount of verbiage on theoretical conceptions of group therapy and how to initiate a group therapy program within an institution, there has been said very little as to actual results of the therapy program at the Training School. At the moment we are in process of evaluating the battery of psychometric tests given to the boys prior to the onset of therapy, during therapy, and after therapy had been terminated. In addition, we are awaiting the results of a follow-up study of the boys who have been exposed to group therapy.

At the moment, group therapy is going on in three areas at the Training School. One of the therapists holds daily sessions with the receiving unit,

which is the admitting unit where the boys remain for approximately a month after they arrive at the institution. Another therapist is holding daily sessions with the training unit. This is a special unit which houses boys who have become overt chronic problems to the institution. Many of the boys in this training unit are prepsychotic and many of them during the course of their stay there have passed through psychic episodes. In addition to these two groups, the boys who leave the receiving unit, who are interested in continuing group work during their stay in the institution, volunteer for group therapy and become members of various voluntary groups throughout the institution. These are seen two or three times weekly by one of the therapists. In spite of the fact that objective results are yet to be forthcoming, the administrators at the institution and the bureau of prisons have been sufficiently convinced by the change manifested in individual boys in the course of group work to underwrite the program indefinitely.

If, at the present time, we are dealing in an inadequate fashion with our delinquent population and with the so-called "psychopathic" element of our adult institutions, it may well be due to the fact that we know very little about them as people. In addition to treating these people, group therapy offers an invaluable opportunity for observation and accumulation of data that will, in time, I am sure, give us a much clearer picture of the genetic growth of these personalities. With this information we will all then do better work.

THE JAIL ASPECT

THE NATIONAL JAIL ASSOCIATION

Notes on Jail Forum

Leon T. Stern, Reporter

IN discussing public relations, William Squire of Connecticut cited the activity of the sheriff of Hartford County, Connecticut. As a result of legislation in a neighboring state, jail population across the state-line in Connecticut rose. The judge, mayor and city-manager were concerned when newspaper publicity was unfavorable. The sheriff suggested a farm to relieve the jail. The county commissioners found an old government barracks that they planned to use after the sheriff presented the problem. As a result, there was a solution, despite the adverse publicity.

Most jails are administered by sheriffs and the sheriff has to be elected by popular vote. The attitude of the man at the prison desk is important to the sheriff in his contact with visitors, relatives of prisoners. They all have votes. Courtesy is important.

Warden Price of Baltimore suggested calling on Sheriff A. B. Foster, president of the National Sheriff's Association. Sheriff Foster stated that he was happy to be present at the meeting and that he spoke for six thousand members in extending the cooperation of the association to the Congress of Correction.

Marshall Stewart of the Jail Board of Baltimore, stated that jail board members, in their plans for the jail, must consider the thinking of the public. To know what the business man wants is important to board members. The impression of the institution is reflected in transitory contacts, in contacts over the phone. Contacts with the press and public need exploitation. Convey to the public the problems confronting the prison. Recognize error. Adverse impressions are often due to failure to convey understanding of the problem. The public must know there is a human relation with prisoners. Even minor problems of ventilation, security, sanitation, must be understood. The responsibility of the jail should be understood by the citizens. They, as well as members of the prison board, are responsible for the jail. A citizens' committee will be helpful in giving knowledge to the public.

Sheriff Elmer Michael Walsh, Cook County Jail, Chicago, stated that

they have 1,276 prisoners and 124 guards. The jail in Chicago is constantly in contact with the press. If people are interested in the jail, they want to see it and visit it. Some people want to see an electrocution and they protest when not allowed to do so. There are important contacts also with public officials, with visitors, with parents, teachers, school children, college groups. In Chicago, regular visits are scheduled. Courteous replies are made to questions, and an intelligent relationship is kept up with citizens of the community.

Charles L. Fordney, superintendent of Cook County Workhouse, Chicago, pointed out the jail is a community project, the citizens should be interested in it. There should be good public communication. Disciplined visiting is important. When there are great crowds of visitors, efficiency and expedition is important. No rudeness should be permitted. There should be prompt replies to questions. When a tour of the institution is made, it should be made *in full*, with no hidden spots. Students are encouraged to write essays about the jail. In telling stories about prisoners, an element of humor and sympathy should be brought in. Interpretation should be human. Sometimes when a notorious prisoner is in the prison, questions are raised as to whether he has special privileges. Newspapers want to glamorize such prisoners. The important thing is to show that they are not favored. This is good for the prisoner himself, for his fellow inmate and for the public.

Wallace Reidt of Baltimore, cited how a sheriff turned a bad news story to good account. The Baltimore papers charged his county had the dirtiest county jail in the state. The sheriff pointed out that Reidt had been asked to work with the grand jury on suggestions for remodeling of the jail. He admitted the jail was dirty, but that it required a complete remodeling in order to keep it clean. The result was a fine news story. The sheriff was not afraid to get into print. It corrected a misconception. It was not bad administration, but impossible equipment.

Miss Nina Kinsella, of the Federal Prison Bureau, pointed out that citizens should not run the jail and they would not do so if they were used to visiting the institutions. Suggested getting material into the schools since it helps create public opinion. Cooperation of principals can be obtained and discussion groups established.

Warden Arthur Bell, Union County, New Jersey, stated that his county does not sell food, tobacco or candy to the prisoners. The best public relations are established through the civic agencies, parent teachers associations and churches. The sheriff is constantly speaking to them carrying the message. He also appears before the Rotary, Kiwanis and Exchange clubs. Honesty and integrity of the prison administration is most im-

portant. He opposed a citizens' committee coming to the institution. The citizens are apt to know the law. The jailkeeper has enough problems, without having trouble with amateur penologists. The grand jury represents the public in its investigation. These juries, visiting the prisons, are the best advertisement for the prison. High schools and colleges are used for educational purposes. If you go too far in having citizens come into your prison, you may have other people run the jail. It is best to run your own institution.

Miss Kinsella stressed the importance of direct contacts. This is an important task for the prison administration. Let them see your jail and know its shortcomings as well as its assets and cooperation and sympathy will be established naturally. Here a citizens' committee would be useful. It could be done through businessmen or a women's organization to educate the public, to contact the press. It will answer the question, "What do you do? What do you have?" Let the press and the public help you to eradicate errors.

Warden Paul Brown of Westchester County, New York, said he never had a citizens' committee, and there might be difficulty if members of a committee were not known. In practice, such a committee may be difficult. If you make good public contacts yourself, you have a committee *in people that know you*. Sometimes people who form a committee have ulterior motives. They want publicity.

Warden Brown said it was important to build up a personality for public contact. People do not think in terms of institutions, but in terms of persons. For this purpose, Warden Brown uses his secretary, who is diplomatic with the public over the phone and with personal contacts and with prisoners who are worried, sick, et cetera. This make the public feel the jail is a good institution. The public associates itself with the people running the jail and not with an institution.

Dr. Sharp of Baltimore asked the question about men who bring things to the institution and what to do about people outside who work in the prison. Every outside worker could be a missionary for the prison and so could every visitor.

Warden William Healey of Wilkes-Barre, Penna., discussed alcoholism. In replying to a question of Warden Fordney of Chicago, he discussed the important alcoholic problem. The problem of the alcoholic is really a hospital problem which burdens the prison in a small county.

Mr. Hamilton of Montreal discussed two types of treatment, citizen contacts and a case work program.

Miss Kinsella pointed out that about 50 per cent of the commitments

were for drunkenness and may reach as high as 62 per cent. The greatest intake is in this group.

Warden Brown pointed out that 55 per cent of his inmates are committed for public intoxication and 20 per cent for the crimes growing out of drunkenness.

Dr. Sharp pointed out that the important thing is the attitude toward the jail and doing the best possible job you know how to do.

A. W. Willey of Los Angeles stated that an effort has been made to get young men just out of the service in the speakers bureau to talk about the jail before service clubs, Kiwanis, Rotary, service clubs and the Legion, et cetera. These have a good impression on the public. All the employes on the telephone get a course in how to answer the telephone. In the Los Angeles County Jail, cooperation with social agencies and good legislation is encouraged and the function of the jail as an institution of rehabilitation is stressed.

Mr. Willey stated that they sold the jail program to members of a labor union who worked in the prison. They clarified the kind of work the men do in institutions.

THE WARDEN'S ASSOCIATION

UNDER the leadership of Warden Joseph E. Ragen of Illinois, president of the Wardens' Association, some seventy institutional heads met in a two-day advance session on September 23 and 24, 1949. The meetings were marked by spirited discussion and enthusiastic interest.

Addressed by Warden John C. Burke of Wisconsin, President of the American Prison Association, the Wardens were welcomed on behalf of the Association and the people of Wisconsin. Eugene S. Zemans, executive director of the John Howard Association, Chicago, discussed the place of the private agency in the correctional field, and outlined the work of his organization in the midwestern area. Discussions on the subject of "Women Wardens and Superintendents" brought out the many problems affiliated with this aspect of institutional administration. Mrs. Marguerite Reiley of the Ohio Reformatory for Women, and Miss Clara Thune of the Minnesota Women's Reformatory, presented formal remarks followed by open discussion.

The question of "Personnel Training" was discussed by Warden E. B. Swope of Alcatraz, and others, with the subject of "Prison Industries" following as a discussion topic.

Warden James B. Gaffney of the federal prison camp, Alabama, and Superintendent M. E. Wiggins of the Mississippi Penitentiary directed their comments to the topic of "The Southern Prison."

The two topics, "Alcoholics Anonymous" and "Segregating Inmate-agitators and Troublemakers," were discussed at the September 24 morning session. Warden Paul R. Brown of the Westchester County (N. Y.) Penitentiary led the latter discussion.

The afternoon meeting directed its attention to the question, "The Most Important Duties of a Warden," and "Suggestions for Re-modeling an Old Penal Institution," with a number of those present giving their points of view.

L. F. Chapman, superintendent of the Florida State Prison, was elected president of the Wardens' Association for the year 1949-50.

ANNUAL BUSINESS MEETING

CONSTITUTION AND BY-LAWS

ORGANIZATION FOR 1949

MEMBERS AND DELEGATES
IN ATTENDANCE

INDEX

ANNUAL BUSINESS MEETING

Thursday September 29, 1949

THE Annual Business Meeting of The American Prison Association was held during the 79th Annual Congress of Correction and convened at 4 p.m. at Hotel Schroeder, Milwaukee, Wisconsin, President John C. Burke presiding.

President Burke: The Annual Business Meeting will come to order. Will the General Secretary call the roll of states to determine those present.

Mr. Cass called the roll. Representatives from thirty-one states, the District of Columbia and Puerto Rico responded to the roll call.

President Burke: In accord with the provisions of the By-Laws, the report of the Committee on Organization is the first item of business.

At the request of the chairman of the committee, Mr. Joseph E. Ragen, the General Secretary read the report.*

President Burke: The General Secretary will now read the Memorial List of the Association.

Mr. Cass read the following list:

MEMORIAL LIST

MRS. CHARLOTTE S. BUTLER, New York

JOHNSON, CARL E., Professor of Sociology, University of Wisconsin, Madison, Wisconsin

JOHNSON, CHARLES H., former New York State Commissioner of Social Welfare and President, The American Prison Association, 1924

ROSS, HAROLD, Deputy Warden, Wallkill State Prison, Wallkill, New York

The assembly arose and remained standing during a prayer led by Reverend George Hann, Chaplain, Wallkill State Prison, Wallkill, New York.

President Burke: We will now have the report of the Treasurer.

At the request of the Treasurer, Mr. John L. Schoenfeld, Mr. Cass read the report as follows:

TO THE MEMBERS OF THE AMERICAN PRISON ASSOCIATION:

I herewith submit my report of the period August 1, 1948 to August 31, 1949:

GENERAL FUND

Balance on Hand Aug. 1, 1948.....\$16,141.26

Receipts for the period..... 12,439.07

28,580.33

Disbursements 10,421.11

BALANCE IN GENERAL FUND.....\$18,159.22

*The Report of the Committee on Organization appears in full in THE PRISON WORLD, Volume 11, No. 6, November-December, 1949, and will be printed in the Proceedings of the 1950 Congress.

EXPANSION FUND

Balance on Hand Aug. 1, 1948.....	344.86
Receipts for the period.....	4,748.00

	5,092.86
Disbursements	4,493.00

BALANCE IN EXPANSION FUND.....	599.86
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COMMITTEE ON INSTITUTION LIBRARIES

Balance on Hand Aug. 1, 1948.....	163.16
Receipts for the period.....	

	163.16
Disbursements	29.19

BALANCE IN LIBRARY FUND.....	133.97
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TOTAL CASH FUNDS AT AUGUST 31, 1949.....	\$18,893.05
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Balance in Checking Account.....	\$14,582.81
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Balance in Savings Accounts.....	4,310.24
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	\$18,893.05
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The American Prison Association also owns one U. S. Treasury bond in the principal amount of \$500, No. 2540L, bearing interest at 2%, due September 15, 1950/52 and registered in the name of the American Prison Association.

JOHN L. SCHOENFELD, *Treasurer*

President Burke: The report of the Committee on Audit has been handed to the General Secretary and I will ask him to read the same. Mr. Cass read the report as Follows:

The Committee on Audit has carefully examined all accounts and records as of August 31, 1949 of your Treasurer, John L. Schoenfeld, and reports as follows:

We have compared all receipts with deposits; we have compared checks issued with proper vouchers. Both receipts and expenditures have been compared with ledger, check book and bank statements, and the same found correct.

Your Committee also finds that the Association owns one United States Treasury Bond, 2% due September 15, 1952/50 for \$500 registered in the name of The American Prison Association, No. 2540L.

Respectfully

JAS. B. GAFFNEY, *Chairman*

S. P. ASHE

R. L. EKLUND

President Burke: You have heard the Treasurer's report and the report of the Committee on Audit. What is your pleasure?

Upon motion made, seconded and carried the Treasurer's report and the report of the Committee on Audit were accepted as read.

President Burke: We are now ready for the report of the Committee on Time and Place.

Mr. O. J. Creach, Chairman of the Committee on Time and Place, handed up the report and asked that it be read by the General Secretary, as follows:

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON TIME AND PLACE

O. J. CREACH, *Chairman*

Present: Representatives from Twelve States and Puerto Rico.

TO MEMBERS OF THE AMERICAN PRISON ASSOCIATION

AT THE ANNUAL BUSINESS MEETING:

The Committee on Time and Place reports that it recommends that the Congress of Correction in 1951 be held in Biloxi, Mississippi; all requirements regarding financial guaranty and complimentary meeting rooms having been guaranteed by Buena Vista Hotel in Biloxi, Mississippi.

Regarding the matter of meeting dates, it is recommended that this be left to the Board of Directors and the representatives of the State in which the Congress will be held.

O. J. CREACH, *Chairman*

Mr. M. E. Wiggins, speaking as a representative of the State of Mississippi, assured the meeting that the State of Mississippi would be most happy to have the Congress meet in Biloxi and that everything possible would be done to make for the success and general usefulness of the gathering.

Upon motion made, seconded and carried the report of the Committee on Time and Place was accepted as read.

President Burke: In the absence of the chairman, Walter C. Reckless, the General Secretary will read the report of the Committee on Planning and Research. Mr. Cass read the report as follows:

THE REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON RESEARCH AND PLANNING

The Committee on Research and Planning is pleased to announce the virtual completion of a Manual of Criminal Statistics, which was compiled for the committee by Ronald H. Beattie, Statistical Consultant, Department of Correction, State of California. This practically-completed report is the first of a series of important projects which are being undertaken by the Committee on Research and Planning.

The committee calls attention to the fact that this Manual of Criminal Statistics attempts to describe the ways and means which states can use in collecting and compiling statistics on the adult offender all the way from arrest, through jails and workhouses, through probation, through correctional institutions and finally to parole. The critical need which brought this report into existence is the almost total lack of collection of criminal statistics

at the state level as well as the very chaotic condition under which adult criminal statistics are being collected when they are collected.

The committee urges the officers of The American Prison Association to find a way of publishing 500 copies of the Beattie report and of distributing such copies to proper state channels, where it can be of greatest service. The committee asks that its membership for the new year be constituted as follows: Walter C. Reckless, Chairman; Ronald Beattie, Thorsten Sellin, Paul Tappan, Peter Lejins, Frank Loveland, Marshall Clinnard, C. Boyd McDivitt, and Henry Sheldon (Bureau of the Census).

Because of the unusual interest in criminal statistics the Committee on Research and Planning asks the officers of The American Prison Association to allow it to appoint a sub-committee on criminal statistics with Ronald Beattie as Chairman and Thorsten Sellin, Marshall Clinnard, and Henry Sheldon as members.

WALTER C. RECKLESS, *Chairman*

Upon motion made, seconded and carried the report was accepted.

President Burke: The next order of business is the report of the Committee on Radio.

The report as set forth below was read by the chairman, Mr. E. L. Johnstone:

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON RADIO

In March, 1949, General Secretary Cass met with President John Burke and discussed the setting up of a committee to explore the possibility of a radio program to be put on the air under the auspices of this Association. Commissioner Cass had discussed this matter with former U. S. Attorney General Justin Miller, currently President of the National Association of Broadcasters, who proved to be most friendly and co-operative. He arranged to have Mr. Harold Fair, Director of the Program Department of the National Association of Broadcasters, in Washington act as adviser to the proposed committee.

Warden Burke subsequently named the following members of the Committee on Radio Program:

Stanley P. Ashe, Pennsylvania

J. Stanley Sheppard, New York

James V. Bennett, Washington, D. C.

E. R. Cass, New York

E. L. Johnstone, New Jersey, Chairman

On April 16, your chairman met with Commissioner Cass in New York to have a preliminary discussion on this proposition and to seek avenues of exploration. Director James V. Bennett was consulted by telephone, and he expressed a number of valuable opinions.

The chairman addressed a memorandum to members of the Committee the latter part of June, setting forth certain points of view, requesting thoughts or ideas from committee members, and referring to suggestions made by Messrs. Bennett and Cass. A copy of this memo was sent to Mr. Fair who responded with clear note of optimism and indicated he would be amenable to discussing this with program men, along with the committee.

He further expressed a certainty such men would be able to "be of considerable help in setting up this radio series."

Mr. Fair's message was relayed to members of the committee, and it was hoped that a meeting might be arranged in late July or in August. Mr. Bennett agreed to be on hand if such a meeting were called.

Meanwhile, it was suggested that a specimen program might be prepared for the Milwaukee meetings in the hope that it would prove interesting to the point of obtaining a sponsor. Some correspondence was held with Envoy Stanley Sheppard who dealt directly with the local committee in the matter of broadcasting the Prison Sunday Service of the Congress.

Committee activity thus far has been preliminary and exploratory. After meeting with Mr. Fair at some future date, it may be possible to develop something objective in the way of a radio program under sponsorship of this association.

STANLEY P. ASHE
J. STANLEY SHEPPARD
JAMES V. BENNETT
E. R. CASS
E. L. JOHNSTON, *Chairman*

Upon motion made, seconded and carried the report was accepted.

President Burke: We shall now have the report of the Committee on Resolutions. As each resolution was read a vote was taken and there being no negative vote all resolutions were declared adopted as follows:

PUBLIC UNDERSTANDING

WHEREAS, there is a growing awareness of the need for publicity in the problem of the prevention and control of delinquency,

THEREFORE, BE IT RESOLVED, that the Board of Directors at its next business meeting, February, 1950, consider ways and means of fostering better public understanding of the many problems involved in correctional work.

CAPTAIN JACK MAGINNIS, U.S.N.

WHEREAS, Captain Jack Maginnis, United States Navy, is being detached as Head, Corrective Services Branch, Bureau of Naval Personnel, Navy Department, after more than three years of service in this important assignment, and

WHEREAS, under the capable and devoted leadership of Captain Maginnis, the Navy's correctional program has progressed to the point where it ranks among the most progressive in the country, and

WHEREAS, The American Prison Association expresses the sincere hope that the Navy Department will continue to give its correctional program a place of importance in its overall plan in the interests of society in general and the Naval Service,

THEREFORE, BE IT RESOLVED, that the 79th Annual Congress of Correction, sponsored by The American Prison Association, meeting in the City of Milwaukee, September, 1949, express its deep appreciation to Captain Maginnis for his many contributions to the correctional field, and its best wishes as he assumes command at sea, and

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED, that a copy of this resolution be transmitted to the Secretary of the Navy and the Chief of Naval Personnel for their information.

AMERICAN PRISON ASSOCIATION

INTERNATIONAL PENAL AND PENITENTIARY COMMISSION

WHEREAS, the organization of the International Penal and Penitentiary Commission was inspired by one of America's outstanding penologists, Dr. E. C. Wines, more than 75 years ago, and

WHEREAS, the American Government and its appointed representative have unceasingly continued their interest and activities in behalf of international understanding and expansion of progressive penological procedures, and

WHEREAS, the twelfth quinquennial Congress of the International Penal and Penitentiary Commission will be held at The Hague, Holland, August 13th to the 20th, 1950.

THEREFORE, BE IT RESOLVED, that the Board of Directors of The American Prison Association be directed and empowered to select for the consideration of the President of the United States the names of fifteen outstanding workers in the penological field in the United States of America to represent our country at the Hague Congress.

THE PRISON WORLD

WHEREAS, THE PRISON WORLD, the official publication of The American Prison Association and the National Jail Association, is entering upon its twelfth consecutive year of publication and service to the correctional field, and

WHEREAS, the publisher of the journal, Mr. J. R. Bruce, of the Bruce Publishing Company, St. Paul, Minnesota, continues to donate considerable time, energy and financial assistance to the advancement of the publication, and

WHEREAS, his faith in the value of the publication to the correctional field, and his patience in bearing with us over the years in a non-profit venture is gratefully appreciated by those engaged in correction throughout the nation,

THEREFORE, BE IT RESOLVED, that The American Prison Association, assembled at its 79th Annual Congress of Correction, Milwaukee, Wisconsin, September 29, 1949, express its sincere appreciation and gratitude to Mr. J. R. Bruce and the Bruce Publishing Company, for their marked contribution to the advancement of the correctional field by THE PRISON WORLD.

GROUP METHODS AND RELEASE PLANNING

WHEREAS, a number of correctional institutions have been conducting experiments in the use of group methods and in formulating a new approach to release planning,

THEREFORE, BE IT RESOLVED, that the Committee on Planning and Research make a preliminary survey of these developments and report their findings at the 80th Congress of Correction to be held in 1950.

COMPILATION OF STATISTICS

WHEREAS, The American Prison Association is deeply concerned about the continuity of the collection and publication of statistics on Prisoners in State and Federal Prisons and Reformatories, in view of the termination of a twenty-two-year period of collection by the Bureau of the Census, and

WHEREAS, the collection and publication of such statistics were recently referred to the U. S. Bureau of Prisons,

THEREFORE, BE IT RESOLVED, that The American Prison Association memorialize the Director of the U. S. Bureau of Prisons to assure that the completeness of coverage and continuity of such annual statistics on prisoners be not impaired, and

FURTHER, BE IT RESOLVED, that The American Prison Association stands ready to memorialize the various agencies of the Federal Government to find adequate financial support for the continued collection and publication of the annual statistics on prisoners.

ROSENKRANZ FOUNDATION

WHEREAS, the Rosenkranz Foundation of the National Schools, located in Los Angeles, California, has in the past three years made available over thirteen hundred free scholarships in radio, television, electronics, diesel, automotive and allied mechanics and in self-advancement courses to selected inmates of correctional institutions, and

WHEREAS, no correctional institution ever has sufficient training facilities for its inmates and should take advantage of these free scholarships for those men who otherwise could not afford them, and

WHEREAS, the records of the Foundation show that more than fifty per cent of these men actually complete these courses before or after release with many of them entering these fields of employment, and

WHEREAS, the Rosenkranz Foundation is willing to continue this service and to encourage other correspondence schools to offer additional courses without charge provided the administrative heads of the various institutions give more encouragement and help to inmates who express interest in bettering themselves by taking advantage of such courses,

THEREFORE, BE IT RESOLVED, that this seventy-ninth Congress of Correction in session in Milwaukee, Wisconsin, express to the Rosenkranz Foundation its sincere appreciation for this generous service in helping men in prison to help themselves by better preparing for their day of release and to urge all administrative heads of prisons and industrial schools to make known to the Rosenkranz Foundation their needs, giving assurance of full cooperation and help in furthering educational efforts to the end that this exceptional opportunity be not taken from men in prison.

INSTITUTIONAL CHAPLAINCY

WHEREAS, in view of the admitted value of religious training in the correctional process,

THEREFORE, BE IT RESOLVED, that The American Prison Association and The National Chaplains' Association, strongly urge that the several state departments of correction be requested to supply full-time chaplains to teach and train inmates in spiritual matters, providing existing populations warrant it.

APPRECIATION

WHEREAS, the 79th Annual Congress of Correction, meeting in the City of Milwaukee, Wisconsin, September 25 through 30, 1949, has been one of the most inspiring and beneficial of the long series, and

WHEREAS, the people of the State of Wisconsin and the City of Milwaukee have given of their warmest hospitality,

NOW, THEREFORE, BE IT RESOLVED, that this Congress of Correction extend its sincere and grateful appreciation to the people of the State of Wisconsin and City of Milwaukee who have contributed so much toward the all around success of this Congress.

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED, that the Congress express its heartfelt thanks to the Honorable Oscar Rennebohm, Governor of the State of Wisconsin, and Mrs. Rennebohm, and the Honorable Frank P. Zeidler, Mayor of the City of Milwaukee, for their participation and cooperation toward the success of the Congress.

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED, that the Congress of Correction express its gratitude to the local Committee on Arrangements headed by John C. Burke, Warden of Wisconsin State Prison, and Maurice Wolkomir, President of the Badger Partition Corporation, Milwaukee.

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED, that the Congress record its appreciation and extend its sincere thanks to the following individuals and groups:

Honorable A. W. Bayley, Director, Wisconsin Department of Public Welfare
Mrs. Ruth Baker, Superintendent, Wisconsin Service Association, and Secretary-Treasurer of the local committee

Paul D. Yount, Director of Corrections

Luke F. Murphy, Parole and Clemency Board, Department of Army, Washington, D. C.

B. O. Odegard, Administrative Assistant, Department of Public Welfare, Madison, Wisconsin.

Mrs. Marcia Simpson, Superintendent, Wisconsin Home for Women, Taycheedah, Wisconsin

M. A. Skaiff, Detention Investigator, Department of Public Welfare, Madison, Wisconsin

Convention Bureau—Milwaukee Chamber of Commerce

Milwaukee Junior Bar Association

Milwaukee Junior Chamber of Commerce

Milwaukee Metropolitan Crime Prevention Commission

State Board of Public Welfare

Wisconsin Sheriffs Association

Youth Aid Commission

Wisconsin Service Association

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED, that the 79th Annual Congress of Correction extend to its outgoing President, Warden John C. Burke, of Wisconsin, its gratitude for his many services and contributions to the success of the Congress, and to Edward R. Cass, General Secretary, Roberts J. Wright, Assistant Secretary, and their faithful office associates for their unceasing devotion and untiring efforts in behalf of the success of this Congress. Our deep appreciation is also due the officers of the allied groups, the chairmen of committees, and the speakers and discussants identified with the various sections of the program for their invaluable cooperation. Without this wholehearted support, the preparation and administration of the program would have suffered.

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED, that the thanks and appreciation of the Congress be extended to the press and radio of the City of Milwaukee and to the management of the Hotel Schroeder, with particular reference to the friendly and cooperative attitude of the Manager, Mr. Louis Limecooley, and the Banquet Manager, Miss Adelaide Stollenwerk.

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED, that the Congress of Correction extend its particular thanks and appreciation to all who volunteered their services on behalf of The American Prison Association by addressing local civic and service groups during the Congress week.

(NOTE: The following resolution was adopted by members in attendance at the Friday morning, September 30th General Session, and is here included with the foregoing resolutions adopted at the annual business meeting held on September 29th.)

TRAINING OF CORRECTIONAL WORKERS

WHEREAS, there is a generally recognized need for the training and education of correctional workers; and

WHEREAS, there is no authoritative standard for the content or method of administration of such educational courses,

THEREFORE, BE IT RESOLVED, that the President of The American Prison Association be authorized to appoint a committee of qualified leaders in institutional administration, probation, parole, crime prevention, and adult education with instructions to prepare, for submission at the 80th Annual Congress, general outlines for courses of study to be recommended for all levels of professional and semi-professional work in the correctional field. These outlines are to include recommended units of instruction in in-service training as well as proposed curricula for colleges and universities desiring to prepare students for entry into the correctional field. The suggestion is also offered that the feasibility of encouraging some extension division or correspondence school to prepare correspondence courses be explored. This suggestion is offered in view of the many small institutions and agencies wherein the organization of local in-service training programs would appear to be impracticable.

President Burke asked if there were any further reports. Dr. Norman Fenton reported for the Committee on Classification and Case Work, stating that the Handbook on Pre-Release Preparation would soon be ready for publication. This was developed by the committee on the basis of meetings and correspondence. The value of such a publication was quickly conceded and it was authorized that the Association to the best of its ability pay for the cost of printing.

President Burke: I understand that there is a report from the Committee on Institution Libraries.

The General Secretary called attention to a survey of penal institution library operations and facilities made by the committee, and also the preparation of a manual of library procedures. The possibility of putting this material in print is to be taken under consideration.

The General Secretary reported that he had made a summary of the activities of the central office for the year, up to the time of the meeting, and stated that in order to reduce printing costs this information would not be included in the Proceedings but would always be available in the files of the Association.

The election of new officers of allied bodies of the Association was announced to the meeting.

Before the meeting adjourned, President Burke presented the newly elected President, J. Stanley Sheppard of The Salvation Army. Envoy Sheppard stated that he was grateful for the opportunity of working with the members of the Association and was looking forward to their cooperation. He indicated

with considerable emotion his surprise and joy at his election and said that it all was beyond his expectations. He pledged himself to serve with thoroughness and humility in the discharge of his responsibilities for the welfare of the Association.

President Burke, in closing the meeting, paid tribute to the officers of allied bodies and the chairmen of committees, to the General Secretary and the Assistant Secretary and central office staff of the Association, and to persons locally, all of whom labored so zealously for the marked success of the Milwaukee Congress.

There being no further business, on motion made, seconded, and carried, the meeting was adjourned.

CONSTITUTION

ARTICLE I. This Association shall be called The American Prison Association, and its objects shall be—

1. The improvement of the laws in relation to public offenses and offenders, and the modes of procedure by which such laws are enforced.

2. The study of the causes of crime, the nature of offenders, and their social surroundings, the best methods of dealing with offenders and of preventing crime.

3. The improvement of the penal, correctional and reformatory institutions throughout the country, and the government, management and discipline thereof, including the appointment of boards of trustees and other officers.

4. The care of, and providing suitable and remunerative employment for paroled and discharged prisoners and probationers, and especially such as may have given evidence of a reformation of life.

ARTICLE II. The officers of the Association shall be a president, five vice-presidents, a general secretary, a treasurer, and a board of directors. The board of directors shall be composed of the president, ex-presidents, the vice-presidents, the general secretary, and the treasurer, all of whom shall serve ex officio with power to vote, and not more than forty additional members, to be elected annually, representing not less than twenty-five states, and including at least one representative from the Dominion of Canada.¹

ARTICLE III. There shall be an executive committee, of which the president shall be ex officio chairman, the general secretary ex officio secretary, and the treasurer an ex officio member; and other committees shall be appointed each year to consider and make reports upon subjects assigned them within the scope of the objects named in Article I.

ARTICLE IV. The board of directors, of whom any five shall constitute a quorum—two of said members being officers of the Association—shall meet annually, and in the interval of its meetings its power shall be exercised by the executive committee and members of the board of directors as hereinafter provided. Notice of a meeting of the executive committee shall also be communicated in writing by the general secretary to all members of the board of directors who shall have the right to attend the meeting and to vote. The privilege of voting shall be exercised only by those present at a meeting.

ARTICLE V. Any person contributing annually to the funds of the Association five dollars shall be a member thereof; a contribution of one hundred dollars at any time shall constitute the contributor a life member; and a contribution of two hundred dollars at any one time shall entitle the contributor to be a patron. Corresponding members may be appointed by the board of directors or by the executive committee. The power of electing officers shall

¹ As amended and approved during the 1933 Congress.

be confined to the members of the Association who have paid annual dues for the current year.

ARTICLE VI. The Association shall hold an annual meeting at such time and place as it shall appoint, on which occasion the several standing committees and the treasurer shall submit annual reports.

ARTICLE VII. All officers of the Association shall be elected at the annual meeting; but vacancies occurring after the annual meeting may be filled by the board of directors, who shall also appoint all committees not chosen at the annual meeting and all officers shall hold over till their successors are chosen.

ARTICLE VIII. The executive committee shall consist of the president, the general secretary, the treasurer, and four additional members of the board of directors to be elected at the annual meeting. Any three members of the committee shall constitute a quorum for the transaction of business.¹

ARTICLE IX. This constitution may be amended by vote of a majority of the members of the Association at any meeting thereof; provided, that notice of the proposed amendment shall have been given at the next preceding meeting.

BY-LAWS

SECTION 1. The order of business at each stated meeting shall be such as is determined by the board of directors and the executive committee.

SECTION 2. The president, general secretary, and treasurer shall perform the customary duties of their respective offices. The general secretary shall be the executive officer of the Association, and shall collect members' dues and pay the same to the treasurer.

SECTION 3. The officers of the Association and elected members of the board of directors shall be elected by ballot at the first business session of the annual meeting of the Association, on the second day preceding the last day of the meeting, and for the purpose of such election there shall be a business meeting on the said day; the time and place of such election shall be published in the official program of the Association. No other business shall be presented until disposition has been made of the election of officers. Nominations for elective officers shall be made as follows: At a general session, not later than the second day of the conference, the president shall appoint a committee of nine on organization which shall contain at least one representative of each of the interests represented in the conference, which committee shall nominate the elective officers of this Association and the proper committees.

SECTION 4. The president shall also appoint a committee of three on resolutions and a committee on time and place consisting of one member from each State, Province, District or Department of the Federal Government,

¹ As amended and approved during the 1934 Congress.

SECTION 5. Societies and organizations desiring to affiliate with the Association shall submit requests therefor to the secretary for submission to the executive committee or to the board of directors.

SECTION 6. No bills shall be paid by the treasurer unless approved and signed by the president and secretary of the Association or, in case of death or incapacity of either, the persons designated by such (executive) committee to act in his stead.

SECTION 7. Alterations of the by-laws may be made at any business session of the Association by a two-thirds vote.

SECTION 8. The president shall decide questions of order, subject to an appeal, and rules of order shall be those in Reed's Manual.

THE AMERICAN PRISON ASSOCIATION

ORGANIZATION FOR 1948-49

President

JOHN C. BURKE, Warden, Wisconsin State Prison, Waupun, Wisconsin.

Vice Presidents

F. LOVELL BIXBY, Deputy Commissioner, State Department of Institutions and Agencies, Trenton, New Jersey.

JAMES W. CURRAN, Industrial Superintendent, State Penal Institutions, Baltimore, Maryland.

MAXWELL B. GROSSMAN, Commissioner, Penal Institutions Department, City of Boston, Boston, Massachusetts.

FRANK LOVELAND, Assistant Director, U. S. Bureau of Prisons, Washington, D. C.

MRS. EDWINA MITCHELL, Associate Member, State Board of Pardons and Paroles, Montgomery, Alabama.

General Secretary

E. R. CASS, General Secretary, The Prison Association of New York, and Member, New York State Commission of Correction, New York.

Treasurer

JOHN L. SCHOENFELD, Member, Executive Committee, The Prison Association of New York, and Member, New York State Commission of Correction, New York.

Assistant Secretary

ROBERTS J. WRIGHT, Assistant Secretary, The Prison Association of New York.

Board of Directors

The President, General Secretary, Treasurer, the Vice Presidents, and the following ex-Presidents of the Association, as provided by the Constitution:

JOSEPH P. BYERS, Delaware, Ohio, 1915.

SANFORD BATES, Commissioner, State Department of Institutions and Agencies, Trenton, New Jersey, 1926.

WILLIAM F. PENN, New York, N. Y., 1927.

E. R. CASS, General Secretary, The Prison Association of New York, 1928.

GEORGE C. ERSKINE, Cheshire, Connecticut, 1929.

STANLEY P. ASHE, Warden, Western State Penitentiary, Pittsburgh, Pa., 1935.

MRS. BLANCHE L. LADU, Superintendent, Women's Division, District of Columbia Workhouse and Reformatory, Lorton, Virginia, 1936.

RICE M. YUELL, Commissioner, State Department of Corrections, Richmond, Virginia, 1938.

AUSTIN H. MACCORMICK, Executive Director, The Osborne Association, New York, 1939.

JAMES V. BENNETT, Director, U. S. Bureau of Prisons, Washington, D. C., 1940.

JAMES A. JOHNSTON, Assistant Director, U. S. Bureau of Prisons, San Francisco, Calif., 1941.

G. HOWLAND SHAW, Washington, D. C., 1942.

RICHARD A. MCGEE, Director, California Department of Corrections, Sacramento, 1943.

JOSEPH W. SANFORD, Commissioner, Michigan Department of Corrections, Lansing, 1944.

GARRETT HEYNS, Member, Michigan Parole Board, Lansing, 1945.

SAM A. LEWISOHN, Member, Board of Directors, Federal Prison Industries, Inc., New York, 1946.

HAROLD E. DONNELL, Superintendent of Prisons, State of Maryland, Baltimore, 1947.

W. FRANK SMYTH, JR., Superintendent, Virginia Penitentiary, Richmond, 1948.

and the following additional members:

GEORGE ALEXANDER, Warden, Oregon State Penitentiary, Salem, Oregon.

R. P. BALKCOM, JR., Warden, Georgia State Prison, Reidsville, Georgia.

MRS. ETTA B. BEAVERS, Superintendent, Kansas State Industrial Farm for Women, Lansing, Kansas.

MRS. VIRGINIA BEDELL, Chairman, Iowa Parole Board, Des Moines, Iowa.

JOHN H. BERGEN, Assistant Director of Institutions, Territory of Hawaii, Honolulu.

ROY BEST, Warden, Colorado State Penitentiary, Canon City, Colorado.

FRANCIS R. BRIDGES, JR., Chairman, Florida Parole Commission, Tallahassee, Florida.

DONALD W. BUNKER, Executive Secretary, Missouri Board of Probation and Parole, Jefferson City, Missouri.

O. P. CALDWELL, Warden, Fort Pillow State Farm, Fort Pillow, Tennessee.

L. E. CLAPP, Warden, Idaho State Penitentiary, Boise, Idaho.

CHARLES B. CLARKE, Warden, New Hampshire State Prison, Concord, New Hampshire.

O. H. CLOSE, Member, California Youth Authority, Sacramento, California.

MRS. WILLIAM L. CRAWFORD, III, Dallas, Texas.

T. C. DALE, Commissioner, State Department of Public Welfare, Montpelier, Vermont.

O. B. ELLIS, General Manager, Texas Prison System, Huntsville, Texas.

LLOYD R. GARRISON, Colonel, AGD, Chief, Correction Branch, AGO, Department of the Army, Washington, D. C.

RALPH B. GIBSON, Major General, C.B., C.B.E., K.C., Commissioner of Penitentiaries, Ottawa, Canada.

HARRISON C. GREENLEAF, Commissioner, State Department of Institutional Service, Augusta, Maine.

JOSEPH H. HAGAN, Administrator, Probation and Parole, State of Rhode Island, Providence.

JOHN E. HARRIS, Warden, Utah State Prison, Salt Lake City, Utah.

JOHN E. HENRY, Warden, Montana State Prison, Deer Lodge, Montana.

RALPH HOWARD, Warden, Indiana State Prison, Michigan City, Indiana.

JAMES M. JONES, Colonel, Warden, Nebraska State Penitentiary, Lincoln, Nebraska.

F. S. KIEREN, Warden, Kentucky State Reformatory, LaGrange, Kentucky.

HAROLD O. LUND, Member, State Board of Charities and Corrections, Brookings, South Dakota.

JACK MAGINNIS, Captain, U.S.N., Head, Corrective Services, Bureau of Naval Personnel, Navy Department, Washington, D. C.

EDNA MAHAN, Superintendent, State Reformatory for Women, Clinton, New Jersey.

WYNNDHAM M. MANNING, Superintendent, South Carolina State Penitentiary, Columbia, South Carolina.

E. A. MARFELL, Superintendent, Illinois Division of Supervision of Parolees, Springfield, Illinois.

ELLIOTT E. McDOWELL, Commissioner, Massachusetts Department of Correction, Boston, Massachusetts.

W. C. MILLER, Warden, Wyoming State Penitentiary, Rawlins, Wyoming.

JOEL R. MOORE, Warden, Michigan Reformatory, Ionia, Michigan.

ERNEST I. PUGMIRE, Commissioner, National Commander, The Salvation Army, New York, N. Y.

JOSEPH E. RAGEN, Warden, Illinois State Penitentiary, Joliet, Illinois.

WALTER C. RECKLESS, Professor of Social Administration, Ohio State University, Columbus, Ohio.

C. O. ROBINSON, Superintendent of Prisons, State Highway and Public Works Commission, Raleigh, North Carolina.

THORSTEN SELLIN, Professor of Sociology, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.

CHARLES L. SHERWOOD, Director, State Department of Public Welfare, Columbus, Ohio.

TOM SMITH, Superintendent, Washington State Penitentiary, Walla Walla, Washington.

L. F. UTECHT, Warden, Minnesota State Prison, Stillwater, Minnesota.

RALPH H. WALKER, Warden, Connecticut State Prison, Wethersfield, Connecticut.

WALTER M. WALLACK, Warden, Wallkill Prison, Wallkill, New York.

LON E. WALTERS, JR., Warden, Arizona State Prison, Florence, Arizona.

ELWOOD H. WILSON, Warden, New Castle County Workhouse, Wilmington, Delaware.

Executive Committee

The President, General Secretary, and Treasurer, as provided by the Constitution, and the following:

SANFORD BATES, Commissioner, State Department of Institutions and Agencies, Trenton, New Jersey.

JACK MAGINNIS, Captain, U.S.N., Head, Corrective Services, Bureau of Naval Personnel, Navy Department, Washington, D. C.

EDNA MAHAN, Superintendent, State Reformatory for Women, Clinton, New Jersey.

WALTER M. WALLACK, Warden, Wallkill Prison, Wallkill, New York.

Committees

The following committees were authorized at the Annual Business Meeting with their chairmen and membership to be approved later by the Board of Directors:

COMMITTEE ON CLASSIFICATION AND CASE WORK, Dr. Norman Fenton, Chief, Classification Bureau, California Department of Corrections, Sacramento, *Chairman*.

COMMITTEE ON CRIME PREVENTION, Dr. J. P. Shalloo, Associate Professor of Sociology, Wharton School of Commerce and Finance, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, *Chairman*.

COMMITTEE ON INSTITUTION LIBRARIES, Edwin I. Friedman, Librarian, United States Penitentiary, Terre Haute, Indiana, *Chairman*.

COMMITTEE ON PERSONNEL STANDARDS AND TRAINING, Dr. F. Lovell Bixby, Deputy Commissioner, State Department of Institutions and Agencies, Trenton, New Jersey, *Chairman*.

COMMITTEE ON RESEARCH AND PLANNING, Dr. Walter C. Reckless, School of Social Administration, Ohio State University, Columbus, Ohio, *Chairman*.

COMMITTEE ON WOMEN'S INSTITUTIONS (chairmen and membership to be supplied).

Correctional Education Association

President: **DR. BENJAMIN FRANK**, Supervisor of Education & Training, U. S. Bureau of Prisons, Washington, D. C.

Vice President: **DR. RALPH H. ROSENBERGER**, Director of Schools, Reformatory for Men, St. Cloud, Minn.

Secretary: **HERMAN K. SPECTOR**, Senior Librarian, San Quentin Prison, San Quentin, California.

Treasurer: **DR. L. N. YEPSER**, Director, Division of Classification & Education, State Department of Institutions & Agencies, Trenton, New Jersey.

Board of Directors:

AUSTIN H. MACCORMICK, New York, N. Y.

MRS. EDWINA MITCHELL, Montgomery, Alabama.

DR. PRICE CHENAULT, Albany, New York.

Correctional Service Associates

President: **DONALD D. BREWER**, Technical Assistant to the Director, Corrective Services Division, Navy Department, Washington, D. C.

Vice President: **VICTOR RUDERMAN**, Assistant Supervisor of Education, Federal Correctional Institution, Danbury, Connecticut.

Treasurer: **RANDOLPH E. WISE**, Chief U. S. Probation Officer, U. S. District Court, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.

Secretary: **ROBERTS J. WRIGHT**, Assistant Secretary, The Prison Association of New York, New York, N. Y.

Executive Committee:

VICTOR H. EVJEN, Assistant Chief of Probation, Administrative Office of the U. S. Courts, Supreme Court Building, Washington, D. C.

DR. PETER P. LEJINS, Professor of Criminology, University of Maryland, College Park, Maryland.

MARK S. RICHMOND, Associate Warden, U. S. Penitentiary, Terre Haute, Indiana.

Medical Correctional Association

President: **DR. FRANK J. CURRAN**, Charlottesville, Virginia.

First Vice President: **DR. RUSSELL SETTLE**, Terre Haute, Indiana.

Second Vice President: **DR. LOWELL S. SELLING**, Orlando, Florida.

Secretary-Treasurer: DR. EDWARD C. RINCK, Springfield, Missouri.

Councillors:

DR. JUSTIN K. FULLER, Sacramento, California.
 DR. JAMES JACKSON, Trenton, New Jersey.
 DR. ROBERT V. SELIGER, Baltimore, Maryland.
 DR. S. BERNARD WORTISS, New York, N. Y.

National Chaplains' Association

President: REV. GEORGE F. MCKINNEY, Catholic Chaplain, Wallkill Prison, Wallkill, N. Y.

Vice President: REV. HERBERT E. ERWAY, Protestant Chaplain, Elmira Reformatory, Elmira, N. Y.

Secretary-Treasurer: ENVOY J. STANLEY SHEPPARD, Director, Men's Prison Bureau, The Salvation Army National Headquarters, New York, N. Y.

National Conference of Juvenile Agencies

President: JOSEPH M. KENNICK, Juvenile Bureau, Long Beach, California.

Vice Presidents:

PAUL J. MCKUSICK, California.
 MRS. BLANCHE PETERSON, Colorado.
 DR. WALTER C. RECKLESS, Ohio.
 DR. HERBERT D. WILLIAMS, Florida.

Executive Secretary and Treasurer: E. L. JOHNSTONE, Superintendent, State Colony, Woodbine, New Jersey.

Board of Directors: Three years:

HERMAN G. MOELLER, District of Columbia.

ROBERT T. GREY, Massachusetts.

LARS S. JENSEN, Missouri.

Two years:

DR. FRITZ REDL, Michigan.
 DR. FREDERICK ROSENHEIM, Massachusetts.

HON. J. J. CONNOLLY, Massachusetts.

One year:

CLYDE L. REED, Michigan.
 HAROLD L. HAYS, Ohio.
 HON. HARRY L. EASTMAN, Pennsylvania.

National Jail Association

President: CHARLES P. PRICE, Warden, Baltimore City Jail, Baltimore, Maryland.

Vice Presidents:

WILLIAM BRENT, Inspector of Jails, Commonwealth of Virginia, Richmond.
 ROY CASEY, Inspector of Jails, U. S. Bureau of Prisons, Keene, Texas.

WALTER N. FOUST, Warden, Lancaster County Prison, Lancaster, Pennsylvania.
 MISS NINA KINSELLA, Supervisor of Jail Inspection, U. S. Bureau of Prisons, Washington, D. C.

D. KNOWLTON READ, Warden, Essex County Jail, Caldwell, New Jersey.

Treasurer: LEON T. STERN, Secretary, Pennsylvania Committee on Penal Affairs, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.

Executive Secretary: ROBERTS J. WRIGHT, Assistant Secretary, The Prison Association of New York, New York, N. Y.

Executive Committee:

PAUL R. BROWN, East View, New York.
 E. R. CASS, New York, N. Y.
 JOSEPH HAGAN, Rhode Island.
 WILLIAM HEALEY, Wilkes-Barre, Pennsylvania.
 AUSTIN H. MACCORMICK, New York, N. Y.
 DR. J. P. SHALLOO, Pennsylvania.
 WILLIAM W. T. SQUIRE, Connecticut.

National Prisoners' Aid Association

President: C. BOYD McDIVITT, Executive Director, Prisoners' Aid Association of Maryland, Baltimore, Md.

Vice President: A. J. EDMISON, K.C., Executive Director, John Howard Society of Ontario, Canada.

Secretary-Treasurer: MRS. RUTH BAKER, Superintendent, Wisconsin Service Association, Milwaukee, Wisconsin.

National Probation and Parole Association

President: ROSCOE POUND, Dean Emeritus, Harvard Law School, Cambridge, Massachusetts.

Vice President: GEORGE W. SMYTH, Judge, Children's Court, Westchester County, White Plains, New York.

Treasurer: LAURENCE G. PAYSON, New York, N. Y.

Executive Director: CHARLES L. CHUTE, New York, N. Y.

Honorary Vice Presidents:

PAUL V. MCNUTT, New York.
 EDWARD F. WAITE, Minnesota.

Penal Industries Association

President: HARLEY H. RUDOLPH, Superintendent of Industries, Indiana State Prison, Michigan City, Indiana.

First Vice President: W. F. SCHIFFMAN, Supervisor of Industries, Washington State Penitentiary, Walla Walla, Washington.

Second Vice President: EDWARD M. HAIGHT, Lansing, Michigan.

Third Vice President: CHARLES V. JENKINSON, Engineer, Federal Prison Industries, Inc., Washington, D. C.

Secretary-Treasurer: W. K. CUNNINGHAM, JR., Richmond, Virginia.

Executive Committee:

JAMES W. CURRAN, Chairman, Maryland.
 BURTON G. ADAMS, California.
 ROY L. BANTA, Indiana.
 E. R. CASS, New York, N. Y.
 H. H. COOPER, Pennsylvania.
 C. D. HESTER, Nebraska.
 ROY KEITH, Massachusetts.
 P. E. KIMBROUGH, Tennessee.
 J. A. McLAUGHLIN, Ottawa, Ontario.
 W. F. SMYTH, JR., Virginia.

Wardens' Association

President: JOSEPH E. RAGEN, Warden, Illinois State Penitentiary, Joliet, Illinois.

First Vice President: MRS. MARGUERITE REILLY, Superintendent, Ohio Reformatory for Women, Marysville, Ohio.

Second Vice President: TOM SMITH, Superintendent, Washington State Penitentiary, Walla Walla, Washington.

Secretary: FOSS DAVIS, Warden, Men's Reformatory, Anamosa, Iowa.

Treasurer: JAMES B. GAFFNEY, Superintendent, Federal Prison Camp, Montgomery, Alabama.

Sergeant-at-Arms: JOHN E. HENRY, Warden, Montana State Prison, Deer Lodge, Montana.

Executive Committee:

GEORGE ALEXANDER, Oregon.
 C. J. BURKE, Pennsylvania.
 O. P. CALDWELL, Tennessee.
 WALTER HUNTER, Kansas.
 H. B. WHITTIER, Minnesota.

MEMBERS AND DELEGATES IN ATTENDANCE

79TH ANNUAL CONGRESS OF CORRECTION

MILWAUKEE, WISCONSIN

ALABAMA

Gaffney, James B., Superintendent, Federal Prison Camp, Montgomery.
Gaffney, Mrs. James B., Montgomery.
Mitchell, Mrs. Edwin, Montgomery.
Stephens, L. B., Administrative Assistant, Alabama Board of Pardons and Paroles, Montgomery.
Turner, Howell, Chairman, Alabama Board of Pardons and Paroles, Montgomery.
Van Egmond, Leonard, Major, Prisoners' Counselor, The Salvation Army, Montgomery.

ARKANSAS

*Ball, W. P., Director, State Board of Pardons, Paroles and Probation, Little Rock.

CALIFORNIA

Beattie, Ronald H., Consultant in Criminal Statistics, State Department of Corrections, Sacramento.
Burke, M. A., Alhambra.
Cramer, Don B., Chief, Division of Training, California Youth Authority, Sacramento.
Dueill, Carl, Major, Director, Prison Department, The Salvation Army, Los Angeles.
Eklund, Robert L., Supervisor of Classification, State Department of Corrections, Sacramento.
Eklund, Mrs. Robert L., Sacramento.
*Fenton, Norman, Chief, Classification Bureau, State Department of Corrections, Sacramento.
Finsley, Fred, Chief State Parole Officer, Sacramento.
Frym, Marcel, Criminological Consultant, Los Angeles.
*Gordon, Walter A., Chairman, California Adult Authority, Sacramento.
Gordon, Mrs. Walter A., Berkeley.
Hagen, Harlan, Member, California State Assembly Committee on Crime and Correction, Hanford.
Holzschuh, Miss Alma, Superintendent, California Institution for Women, Tehachapi.
Humphreys, Mrs. Anne, Chairman, Board of Trustees, California Institution for Women, Los Angeles.
Kennick, Joseph M., Superintendent, Juvenile Department, Long Beach.
Kilpatrick, Vernon, State Assemblyman, Los Angeles.
MacNamara, Donal E. J., Professor in Charge, Law Enforcement Bureau, University of Southern California, Los Angeles.
*McGee, Richard A., Director, State Department of Corrections, Sacramento.
Morgan, H. D., Captain of Police, Pasadena.
Niehouse, Kathryn T., Member, California Legislature, San Diego.
*Oliver, Arthur L., Business Manager, California State Prison, San Quentin.
Oliver, Mrs. Arthur L., San Quentin.
Rogers, Dr. H. W., Head, Guidance Center, San Quentin.
Schapps, John, Western Director, National Probation and Parole Association, San Francisco.

*Official Delegate—so designated by a Governor of a State.

Schmidt, David G., M.D., Chief Psychiatrist, California State Prison, San Quentin.

*Scudder, Kenyon J., Superintendent, California Institution for Men, Chino.

Scudder, Mrs. Kenyon J., Chino.

Swope, E. B., Warden, United States Penitentiary, Alcatraz Island.

Taylor, C. O., Lieut. Colonel, Western Territorial Prison Secretary, The Salvation Army, San Francisco.

Votaw, Roy C., California Youth Authority, San Francisco.

Warner, Leslie, General Manager, Sicular Inspectoscope Company, San Francisco.

Wiley, A. W., Inspector, Sheriff's Department, Los Angeles.

Zuck, John M., Probation Officer, Los Angeles County, Los Angeles.

Zuck, Mrs. John M., Los Angeles.

COLORADO

Best, Roy, Warden, Colorado State Penitentiary, Canon City.

Best, Mrs. Roy, Canon City.

Ciccone, Pasquale J., M.D., Federal Correctional Institution, Englewood.

Peterson, Blanche H., Superintendent, Holland Hall for Girls, Denver.

*Thomas, James S., Warden, Colorado State Reformatory, Buena Vista.

CONNECTICUT

*Donaher, Rev. James F., Catholic Chaplain, Connecticut Reformatory, Cheshire.

Sells, Mrs. Alice Phillips, Superintendent, Long Lane School, Middletown.

Shank, Allen L., Warden, Federal Correctional Institution, Danbury.

Squire, William W. T., Director, Connecticut Public Welfare Council, Hartford.

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

Alexander, Myrl E., Assistant Director, U. S. Bureau of Prisons, Washington.

Bennett, James V., Director, U. S. Bureau of Prisons, Washington.

Burnside, John M., Lieutenant Colonel, USAF, Clemency and Parole Board, Washington.

*Clemmer, Donald, Director, District of Columbia Department of Corrections, Washington.

Clingerman, R. L., Washington.

Evjen, Victor H., Assistant Chief, U. S. Probation System, Washington.

Flynn, Edward J., Managing Director, Washington Criminal Justice Association, Washington.

Frank, Benjamin, Superintendent, Vocational Education and Training, U. S. Bureau of Prisons, Washington.

Garrison, Lloyd R., Colonel, Chief, Correction Branch, AGO, Department of the Army, Washington.

Gilkey, Earle W., Supervisor of Classification, District of Columbia Department of Corrections, Washington.

Hanson, Virginia G., Information and Editorial Specialist, U. S. Bureau of Prisons, Washington.

Hegstrom, Harold E., Superintendent, National Training School for Boys, Washington.
 Karpman, Ben, M.D., St. Elizabeth's Hospital, Washington.
 Kassoff, Arthur I., Psychologist, National Training School for Boys, Washington.
 Kimble, F. V. H., Brigadier General, United States Air Force, Washington.
 Kinsella, Miss Nina, Executive Assistant to the Director, U. S. Bureau of Prisons, Washington.
 Krumbiegel, Stanley E., M.D., Medical Director, U. S. Bureau of Prisons, Washington.
 Loveland, Frank, Assistant Director, U. S. Bureau of Prisons, Washington.
 Milliken, Rhoda J., Director, Women's Bureau, Metropolitan Police, Washington.
 Moeller, H. G., Supervisor, Juvenile Branch, U. S. Bureau of Prisons, Washington.
 Morris, Charles V., Secretary, Corrections Section, United Community Services, Washington.
 O'Grady, Right Rev. Msgr. John, Secretary, National Conference of Catholic Charities, Washington.
 Sanders, R. C., Colonel, United States Air Force, Washington.
 Sanford, Joseph N., Director of Probation, Municipal Court, Washington.
 Sharp, Louis J., Assistant Chief, U. S. Probation System, Washington.
 Shaw, G. Howland, Washington.
 Smith, R. E. L., Chief Parole Officer, District of Columbia Department of Corrections, Washington.
 Wilkinson, Fred T., Supervisor of Custodial Service, U. S. Bureau of Prisons, Washington.

GEORGIA

Allison, Rev. W. P., Chief Chaplain, Fulton County, Atlanta.
 *Balkcom, R. P. Jr., Warden, Georgia State Prison, Reidsville.
 Decker, Gilbert S., Brigadier, Prison Secretary, Southern Territory, The Salvation Army, Atlanta.
 Everett, Ed, Chairman, State Pardon and Parole Board, Atlanta.
 Foster, A. B., President, National Sheriffs' Association, Atlanta.
 Hatchett, J. B., Assistant Director, State Board of Corrections, Atlanta.
 Hiatt, W. H., Warden, United States Penitentiary, Atlanta.
 Mills, Carl, Warden, Fulton County Prison, Atlanta.
 Mills, Mrs. Carl, Atlanta.
 Rainey, Mrs. Rebecca L., Member, State Pardon and Parole Board, Atlanta.
 *Wilburn, Eugene, Member, State Pardon and Parole Board, Oglethorpe.

IDAHO

*Clapp, L. E., Warden, Idaho State Penitentiary and Chairman, State Board of Correction, Boise.
 Clapp, Mrs. L. E., Boise.

ILLINOIS

Adam, Folger, Folger Adam Company, Joliet.
 Atkinson, John W., Lieut. Colonel, Prison Secretary, The Salvation Army, Chicago.
 Barnett, Jacob B., U. S. Probation Officer, Chicago.
 Bettag, O. L., M.D., Tuberculosis Controller, Illinois Department of Public Safety, Chicago.

Blackiston, Don T., Chicago.
 Brimm, Erna, Probation Officer, Chicago.
 Bruyn, Severyn, Oak Park.
 Chapman, John Wm., Springfield.
 Collins, John J., U. S. Probation Officer, Chicago.
 Colosimo, Joseph G., U. S. Probation Officer, Chicago.
 Dostron, Rev. Norman, Chaplain, Illinois State Penitentiary, Pontiac.
 Du Val, Joane Agnew, Regional Representative, State Department of Public Welfare, Chicago.
 Eselstyn, Thomas C., Instructor in Sociology, University of Illinois, Urbana.
 *Farber, Clarence L., Superintendent of Prisons, Illinois Department of Public Safety, Springfield.
 Faust, Marcella, Major, The Salvation Army, Chicago.
 Fisher, Charles L., Folger Adam Company, Joliet.
 Flynn, Frank T., School of Social Service Administration, University of Chicago, Chicago.
 Fordney, Chester L., Colonel, Superintendent, Cook County Jail, Chicago.
 Foster, Miss Lois A., Chicago.
 Gould, Charles C., Major, Post Commander, The Volunteers of America, Rockford.
 Gould, Myrtle, Major, The Volunteers of America, Rockford.
 Grace, Bernard, Caseworker, John Howard Association, Chicago.
 *Gradman, Harold J., Juvenile Parole Consultant, Chicago.
 Gronewold, David, U. S. Probation Officer, Chicago.
 Gunsallus, Brooke, Chicago.
 Haines, William H., M.D., Director, Behavior Clinic, Criminal Court of Cook County, Chicago.
 Hamilton, Arvid E., Major, The Salvation Army, Chicago.
 Jensen, Lars, Major, The Salvation Army, Chicago.
 Layman, Rev. Robert V., Major, The Volunteers of America, Chicago.
 Lefkowitz, Miss Ileana, Chicago.
 *Leonard, Charles W., Superintendent, State Training School for Boys, St. Charles.
 *Lewis, Mrs. Elizabeth H., Superintendent, State Training School for Girls, Geneva.
 *Lewis, O. H., Superintendent, State Reformatory for Women, Dwight.
 Long, Harvey L., Superintendent, Adult Parole Services, State Department of Public Welfare, Chicago.
 Luke, J. N., Deputy Sheriff, Cook County, Chicago.
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 Meeks, Wilson M., Supervising Sociologist, State Department of Public Safety, Chicago.
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 Meyer, Charles H. Z., Chicago.
 Meyer, Mrs. Charles H. Z., Chicago.
 Meyer, Mrs. Ruth E., Winnetka.
 Meyer, William D., Chief Adult Probation Officer for Cook County, Chicago.
 Morrison, W. E., Springfield.
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 Pick, John F., M.D., Chicago.
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 Robinson, Browning, Warden, Illinois State Penitentiary, Menard.
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 Seyfrit, Michael F., Member, State Parole Board, Carlinville.
 Smith, Groves B., M.D., Psychiatrist, Illinois State Penitentiary, Menard.
 Snider, Arthur J., Chicago Daily News, Chicago.
 Taft, Donald R., Professor of Sociology, University of Illinois, Urbana.
 Walsh, Elmer Michael, Colonel, Sheriff of Cook County, Chicago.
 Withey, George, Springfield.
 Zemans, Eugene S., Executive Secretary, The John Howard Association, Chicago.

INDIANA

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 Crandall, K. Grace, Lieutenant Colonel, The Volunteers of America, Indianapolis.
 *Dowd, Alfred F., Warden, Indiana State Prison, Michigan City.
 Dowd, Mrs. Alfred F., Michigan City.
 Duncan, Robert W., Parole Officer, Indiana Reformatory, Pendleton.
 Ellis, Albert, Superintendent, Indiana State Farm, Greencastle.
 Friedman, Edwin I., Assistant Supervisor of Education, United States Penitentiary, Terre Haute.
 Gonas, John S., Judge, Juvenile Court, South Bend.
 Hartman, Nina J., Adult Probation Officer, Fort Wayne.
 *Hire, Harvey L., Director, State Division of Correction, Indianapolis.
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 *Krueger, Mrs. Ethel R., Superintendent, Indiana Woman's Prison, Indianapolis.
 Lane, Ward, Superintendent, Indiana Reformatory, Pendleton.
 *Mulva, Leo T., President, Board of Trustees, Indiana State Prison, Whiting.
 Myers, Paul L., Member, Board of Trustees, Indiana State Prison, Elkhart.
 O'Brien, Hugh P., Professor of Criminology, University of Notre Dame, Notre Dame.
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 Richmond, Mark S., Associate Warden, United States Penitentiary, Terre Haute.
 Rudicel, Bert, Parole Officer, Indiana State Prison, Michigan City.
 *Rudolph, Harley K., Director of Industries, Indiana State Prison, Michigan City.
 Settle, R. O., M.D., Chief Medical Officer, United States Penitentiary, Terre Haute.
 Smith, Carl L., National Director, Inter-Church Prison Evangelistic Association, Indianapolis.
 *Stubbs, Earl, Captain, The Salvation Army, South Bend.
 Sumner, Mrs. Mary Margaret, Superintendent, Indiana Girls' School, Indianapolis.
 *Thomas, Edwin R., Member, Board of Trustees, Indiana State Prison, Fort Wayne.

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 Wall, R. A., Lebanon.
 Weist, Gordon E., Chief Probation Officer, South Bend.
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IOWA

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 Davis, Foss, Warden, Men's Reformatory, Anamosa.
 *Godfrey, C. E., Member, Iowa State Board of Parole, Albia.
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 Johnson, Harry A., Parole Officer, Des Moines.
 *Lainson, Percy A., Warden, Iowa State Penitentiary, Fort Madison.
 Lainson, Mrs. Percy A., Fort Madison.
 Logan, R. L., State Parole Officer, Ruthven.
 Miles, H. L., Superintendent, Iowa Training School for Boys, Eldora.
 Peter, L., Chaplain, Keokuk.
 Pribovsky, Marvin, State Parole Officer, Cedar Rapids.
 Wurl, Otto A., Chief Probation Officer, Council Bluffs.

KANSAS

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 *Beavers, Mrs. Etta B., Superintendent, Kansas State Industrial Farm for Women, Lansing.
 Cutler, Theodore, Librarian, United States Penitentiary, Leavenworth.
 *Frost, Roy M., Superintendent, Kansas State Reformatory, Hutchinson.
 Hall, Bernard F., Staff Psychiatrist, Menninger Foundation, Topeka.
 Hunter, Walter A., Warden, United States Penitentiary, Leavenworth.
 Hunter, Mrs. Walter A., Leavenworth.
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 Rudisill, Rev. T. F., Chaplain of State Prisons, Lansing.
 *Walsh, Mrs. Irma C., Administrator, Interstate Parole Compact, Topeka.
 Winterburg, Don E., Major, Supervisor of Classification and Rehabilitation, United States Disciplinary Barracks, Fort Leavenworth.
 Wolf, Adam J., Major, The Salvation Army, Leavenworth.

KENTUCKY

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 *Buchanan, W. J., Warden, Kentucky State Penitentiary, Eddyville.
 Heicken, Gus L., Field Supervisor, State Division of Probation and Parole, Louisville.
 Jarvis, John F., Deputy Commissioner, State Department of Welfare, Frankfort.
 Pescor, M. J., M.D., Clinical Director, U. S. Public Health Service Hospital, Lexington.
 Pyne, Wm. H., Assistant Superintendent, Louisville and Jefferson County Children's Home, Louisville.
 Smith, Charles E., M.D., Chief Medical Officer, Federal Correctional Institution, Ashland.
 *Watson, W. E., Director of Corrections, Frankfort.
 *Whaley, Renald L., Warden, Kentucky State Reformatory, LaGrange.

LOUISIANA

- Cummings, Mona B., Assistant Superintendent, State Industrial School for Girls, Alexandria.
 *Higgins, Lawrence E., Commissioner of Public Welfare, Baton Rouge.
 *Landry, Curvey P., State Supervisor of Probation, Baton Rouge.

MARYLAND

- Bart, Harry, Member, Board of Trustees, Baltimore City Jail, Baltimore.
 Black, J. Hubert, Woodbine.
 Black, Mrs. J. Hubert, Woodbine.
 Burris, J. Lewin, Senior Parole Officer, Chestertown.
 Chapman, K. W., M.D., Chief, Neuropsychiatry Section, Division of Hospitals, USPHS, Bethesda.
 *Curran, James W., Industrial Superintendent, State Department of Correction, Baltimore.
 Curran, Mrs. James W., Baltimore.
 Falconer, Ralph S., Executive Secretary, State Division of Parole and Probation, Baltimore.
 Falconer, Mrs. Ralph S., Baltimore.
 Fitzgibbon, George F., Director of Classification, State Department of Correction, Baltimore.
 *Horgan, Mrs. G. E., Member, Maryland Board of Correction, Baltimore.
 Johnson, Mrs. Muriel E., Superintendent, Barrett School for Girls, Glen Burnie.
 Lejins, Peter P., Professor of Sociology, University of Maryland, College Park.
 *Levin, Meyer D., Executive Secretary, Jewish Big Brother League, Baltimore.
 McDivitt, C. Boyd, Executive Director, Prisoners Aid Association of Maryland, Baltimore.
 *Oppenheimer, Keuben, Director, State Department of Correction, Baltimore.
 *Price, Charles P., Warden, Baltimore City Jail, Baltimore.
 Rabal, Louis, Member, Board of Trustees, Baltimore City Jail, Baltimore.
 *Raymond, H. R., Superintendent, Maryland State Reformatory for Males, Breathedsville.
 *Reidt, Wallace, Managing Director, Baltimore Criminal Justice Commission, Baltimore.
 Sharp, E. Preston, Chief, Division of Training Schools, State Department of Public Welfare, Baltimore.
 Stewart, J. Marshall, President, Board of Trustees, Baltimore City Jail, Baltimore.
 *Swenson, E. T., Warden, Maryland Penitentiary, Baltimore.
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 Wright, J. LeRoy, Warden, Maryland House of Correction, Jessups.
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MASSACHUSETTS

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 *Dolan, John C., Superintendent, Massachusetts Reformatory, West Concord.
 *Grossman, Maxwell B., Colonel, Commissioner of Penal Institutions, Boston.
 *Holland, Richard G., Deputy Commissioner, Massachusetts Department of Correction, Boston.
 Iasigi, Paul S. W., Barnstable.
 *McDowell, Elliott E., Commissioner, Massachusetts Department of Correction, Boston.

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 Sands, Eliot, Probation Officer, Juvenile Court, Boston.
 *Sullivan, Miss Katharine, Member, Massachusetts Parole Board, Canton.
 *Warren, James E., Superintendent, State Farm, State Farm.
 Warren, Mrs. James E., State Farm.

MICHIGAN

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 *Ewert, Albert M., State Supervisor of Probation, Lansing.
 Finn, Frank P., Chief Probation Officer, Recorder's Court, Detroit.
 *Frisbie, Julian N., Warden, State Prison of Southern Michigan, Jackson.
 Haight, Ed. M., Manager, State Prison Industries, Lansing.
 Haney, Louis, Adjutant, The Volunteers of America, Lansing.
 Haney, N. L., Jr., Adjutant, Officer in Charge, The Volunteers of America, Lansing.
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 *Jacques, Emery E., Warden, State House of Correction and Branch Prison, Marquette.
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MINNESOTA

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MISSISSIPPI

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Haney, N. L., Major, The Volunteers of America, Kansas City.

Hill, W. W., Jefferson City.

*Neagles, James C., Executive Secretary, Missouri Welfare League, St. Louis.

Renz, Paul V., Superintendent of State Farms, Jefferson City.

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Searn, W. E., Director, Missouri Training School Board, Jefferson City.

*Sendlein, Bruno, Member, St. Louis Board of Children's Guardians, St. Louis.

Smith, Charles W., Lieutenant, The Salvation Army, St. Louis.

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MONTANA

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NEBRASKA

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Carroll, Hugo V., Superintendent, Boys' Training School, Kearney.

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Locker, Bert, Major, The Salvation Army, Lincoln.

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Smolen, A. J., State Parole Officer, Lincoln.

NEW HAMPSHIRE

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*Plumer, Miss Mary M., Secretary, State Board of Parole, Concord.

NEW JERSEY

Brescher, Joseph, Member, State Parole Board, Trenton.

*Bates, Sanford, Commissioner, Department of Institutions and Agencies, Trenton.

*Bell, Arthur S., Warden, Union County Prison, Elizabeth.

*Bixby, F. Lovell, Deputy Commissioner in Charge of Correction and Parole, Department of Institutions and Agencies, Trenton.

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NEW YORK

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 *Booth, Charles Brandon, General, Commander-in-Chief, The Volunteers of America, New York.
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 *Chenault, Price, Director of Education, State Department of Correction, Albany.
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 Litchfield, Clarence B., Alfred Hopkins & Associates, New York.
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NORTH CAROLINA

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 *Crawford, Joseph P., Warden, Central State Prison, Raleigh.
 *Johnson, T. C., M.D., State Commissioner of Paroles, Raleigh.
 *Moore, J. Brice, Director of State Prisons, Raleigh.
 Randsdell, N. F., Assistant Director of Probation, Varina.
 *Sample, Harry, State Commissioner of Probation, Raleigh.
 *Thompson, Drury B., Staff Attorney, State Board of Public Welfare, Raleigh.

OHIO

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 *Alvis, Ralph W., Warden, Ohio Penitentiary, Columbus.
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 *Glatke, Arthur L., Chief, Division of Correction, State Department of Public Welfare, Columbus.
 *Goché, Mrs. Jean, Assistant to Superintendent, Ohio Reformatory for Women, Marysville.
 *Hackenberg, L. E., Vice Chairman, Ohio Pardon and Parole Commission, Columbus.
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 Higgins, Anna Mae, Major, The Volunteers of America, Toledo.
 Higgins, John R., Major, The Volunteers of America, Toledo.
 Hunnicutt, John M., Stewart Irons Works Company, Cincinnati.
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 *Koblentz, Maury C., Assistant Chief, Division of Correction, State Department of Public Welfare, Columbus.
 *Lowery, Percy, Chairman, Ohio Parole Commission, Columbus.
 Mohney, R. D., Singer Sewing Machine Company, Cincinnati.
 *Nicholas, G. Warner, Colonel, Investigator, Ohio Parole Commission, Camden.
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 Schilder, L. Clark, Warden, Federal Reformatory, Chillicothe.
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 Sharp, Kenneth D., Captain, The Salvation Army, Middletown.
 *Shiffer, James J., District Supervisor, State Bureau of Probation and Parole, Euclid.
 *Sibert, Omer E., District Supervisor, State Bureau of Probation and Parole, North Canton.

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Turigliatto, John, Superintendent, Youth Aid Bureau, Police Department, Cincinnati.

OKLAHOMA

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Riley, J. T., M.D., El Reno.
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Sharp, Joe, Warden, Oklahoma State Reformatory, Oklahoma City.

OREGON

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PENNSYLVANIA

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Barbour, B. R., Field Secretary, International Correspondence Schools, Scranton.
*Brady, Fred W., Director, Bureau of Corrections, State Department of Welfare, Harrisburg.
Brubaker, Edward, Chief Probation Officer, Harrisburg.
Cuthbertson, Mrs. Mary Moss, Philadelphia.
Dye, Charles L., Warden, Allegheny County Jail, Pittsburgh.
Etter, Edgar R., Warden, Dauphin County Prison, Harrisburg.
Finnegan, J., Francis, Executive Director, Crime Prevention Association, Philadelphia.
Fisher, Mildred C., Supervisor of Industries, State Industrial Home for Women, Muncy.
Ford, William, M.D., Chief Medical Officer, United States Penitentiary, Lewisburg.
Fraser, A. G., Executive Secretary, Pennsylvania Prison Society, Philadelphia.
*Giardini, G. I., Superintendent, State Board of Parole Supervision, Harrisburg.
Gibbons, Thomas J., Inspector, Police Youth Bureau, Philadelphia.
*Gray, Miss Celia K., Superintendent, State Industrial Home for Women, Muncy.
Harvey, William H., Captain, The Salvation Army, Pittsburgh.
Healey, Wm. B., Warden, Luzerne County Prison, Wilkes-Barre.
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Keenan, L. P., Superintendent, Allegheny County Workhouse, Pittsburgh.
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Lenz, Henry, York.
Robinson, William L., Member, Board of Managers, Allegheny County Workhouse, Pittsburgh.
Rodli, Gilbert, John R. Wald Company, Huntingdon.
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RHODE ISLAND

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O'Brien, Mary I., Executive Secretary, State Board of Parole, Providence.

SOUTH CAROLINA

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Huckabee, Mrs. Norman M., Florence.
*Lybrand, Dorsey, Aiken.
*Manning, W. M., Superintendent, South Carolina Penitentiary, Columbia.
*McFaddin, James Hugh, Member, State Senate, Manning.
*Mertz, Mrs. Florence, Superintendent, South Carolina Industrial School for Girls, Columbia.
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SOUTH DAKOTA

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Jameson, G. Norton, Warden, South Dakota Penitentiary, Sioux Falls.
Jameson, Mrs. G. Norton, Sioux Falls.
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TENNESSEE

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*Brown, Houston, Commissioner of State Institutions, Nashville.
*Farrar, Miss Nell, Superintendent, Tennessee Vocational School for Girls, Tullahoma.
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*Swafford, W. G., Warden, Tennessee State Penitentiary, Nashville.
*Wright, R. B., Warden, Fort Pillow State Farm, Fort Pillow.

TEXAS

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Cozart, Mrs. Reed, Seagoville.
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